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THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. **KINGS** held dominion in the city of Rome from its foundation: Lucius Brutus instituted liberty and the consulate.¹ Dictatorships were resorted to in temporary emergencies:

¹ In this introduction, Tacitus gives us a compendious view of the Roman government, in all its various forms, and every deviation from its first principles, from the foundation of the city to the establishment of the Cæsars. The several forms were as follows:—

I. The regal government, which lasted, under seven successive kings, above two hundred and forty years, and ended at last by the expulsion of Tarquin.

II. The consulship, and the republican government established by Brutus, A.U.C. 245; before the Christian æra 509.

III. The supreme authority of the dictator, created in pressing exigencies, and for a limited time. This office was first instituted, according to Livy, A.U.C. 253.

IV. The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws. They were the only magistrates. The government, which was transferred from kings to consuls, was now vested in the decemvirs. Their code of laws was finished within two years. It was called the Twelve Tables. The well-known tyranny of Appius brought upon them the name of the "Ten Tarquins." Their magistracy ended A.U.C. 305.

V. The military tribunes, in a violent contention between the patricians and commonalty, invested with the authority of the consuls, and exercising all the functions of those two magistrates, A.U.C. 310. In the following year the consular government was once more restored.

VI. The usurpation of Cinna, A.U.C. 667.

VII. The domination of Sylla; who assumed the power of dictator, A.U.C. 672, and continued in that station till the year 675, when he made a voluntary abdication, and retired to lead the life of a private citizen.

VIII. The triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, A.U.C. 699. This was a faction, not a legal institution.

IX. Cæsar perpetual dictator, A.U.C. 706.

X. The triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus, A.U.C. 711.

XI. The supreme power vested in Augustus, A.U.C. 724. Such

neither the power of the decemvirs continued in force beyond two years, nor the consular authority of the military tribunes for any length of time. The domination of Cinna did not continue long, nor that of Sylla: the influence of Pompey and Crassus quickly merged, in Cæsar: the arms of Lepidus and Antony in Augustus, who, with the title of prince,¹ took under his command the commonwealth, exhausted with civil dissensions. But the affairs of the ancient Roman people, whether prosperous or adverse, have been recorded by writers of renown. Nor were there wanting authors of distinguished genius to have composed the history of the times of Augustus, till by the spirit of flattery, which became prevalent, they were deterred. As to Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, whilst they yet reigned the histories of their times were falsified through fear; and after they had fallen, they were written under the influence of recent detestation. Thence my own design of recounting a few incidents respecting Augustus, and those towards the latter part of his life; and, after that, of giving a history of the reign of Tiberius and the rest; uninfluenced by resentment and partiality, as I stand aloof from the causes of them.

2. When, after the fall of Brutus and Cassiûs, there remained none to fight for the commonwealth; when Sextus Pompeius was utterly defeated at Sicily; and Lepidus being deprived of his command, and Mark Antony slain, there remained no leader even to the Julian party but Octavius; having put off the name of triumvir, styling himself consul, and pretending that all he aimed at was the jurisdiction attached to the tribuneship for the protection of the commons; when he had cajoled the soldiery by donations, the people by distribution of corn, and men in general by the charms of peace, he (Octavius) began by gradations to exalt

were the various changes of government which Tacitus has enumerated with his usual comprehensive brevity. Each of them forms an important æra, and all, well developed, would furnish a complete political history of Rome.

¹ That is, Prince of the Senate; a title well known in the time of the old republic, and always given to the senator whose name stood first on the censor's roll. When the consul called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the *Princeps Senatus*. Under that constitutional name, Augustus seemed rather to accept than to arrogate to himself the management of the state.

himself over them; to draw to himself the functions of the senate and of the magistrate, and the framing of the laws; in which he was thwarted by no man: the boldest spirits having fallen in some or other of the regular battles, or by proscription; and the surviving nobility being distinguished by wealth and public honours, according to the measure of their promptness to bondage; and as these innovations had been the cause of aggrandisement to them, preferring the present state of things with safety, to the revival of ancient liberty with personal peril. Neither were the provinces averse to that condition of affairs; since they mistrusted the government of the senate and people, on account of the contentions among the great and the avarice of the magistrates: while the protection of the laws was enfeebled and borne down by violence, intrigue, and bribery.

3. Moreover, Augustus, as supports to his domination, raised his sister's son, Claudius Marcellus, a mere youth, to the dignity of pontiff and curule ædile; aggrandised by two successive consulships Marcus Agrippa, a man meanly born, but an accomplished soldier, and the companion of his victories; and soon, on the death of Marcellus, chose him for his son-in-law. The sons of his wife, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, he dignified with the title of Imperator,¹ though there had been no diminution in the members of his house. For into the family of the Cæsars he had already adopted Lucius and Caius, the sons of Agrippa; and though they had not yet laid aside the puerile garment, vehement had been his ambition to see them declared princes of the Roman youth, and even designed to the consulship; while he affected to decline the honours for them. Upon the decease of Agrippa, they were cut off, either by a death premature but natural, or by the arts of their stepmother Livia; Lucius on his journey to the armies in Spain, Caius on his return from Armenia, ill of a wound: and as Drusus had been long since dead, Tiberius Nero was the only survivor of his stepsons.

¹ The title of Imperator implied no more than the commander of an army. It was usually given by the soldiers in their camp, or in the field after a victory, to the general whom they approved. Augustus, and the following emperors, granted the name to their favourites as an honourable distinction. Tiberius reserved it for the emperor only. See Annals, book iii. s. 74.

On him every honour was accumulated ; (to that quarter all things inclined ;) he was by Augustus adopted for his son, assumed colleague in the empire, partner in the tribunitian authority, and presented to the several armies ; not from the secret machinations of his mother, as heretofore, but at her open suit. For over Augustus, now very aged, she had obtained such absolute sway, that he banished into the isle of Planasia his only surviving grandson, Agrippa Posthumus ; a person destitute indeed of liberal accomplishments, and a man of clownish brutality with great bodily strength, but convicted of no heinous offence. The emperor, strange to say, set Germanicus, the son of Drusus, over eight legions quartered upon the Rhine, and ordered that he should be engrafted into his family by Tiberius by adoption, though Tiberius had then a son of his own on the verge of manhood ; but the object was that he might stand firm by having many to support and protect him. War at that time there remained none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to blot out the disgrace sustained by the loss of Quintilius Varus, with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the empire, or for any advantage worth contending for. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. The magistrates retained their wonted names ; of the Romans, the younger sort had been born since the battle of Actium, and even most of the old during the civil wars : how few were then living who had seen the ancient free state !

4. The character of the government thus totally changed ; no traces were to be found of the spirit of ancient institutions. The system by which every citizen shared in the government being thrown aside, all men regarded the orders of the prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience ; nor felt they any anxiety for the present, while Augustus, yet in the vigour of life, maintained the credit of himself and house, and the peace of the state. But when old age had crept over him, and he was sinking under bodily infirmities,—when his end was at hand, and thence a new source of hopes and views was presented,—some few there were who began to talk idly about the blessings of liberty : many dreaded a civil war—others longed for one ; while far the greatest part were occupied in circulating various surmises reflecting upon those who seemed likely to be their masters :—“ That Agrippa was

dishonour

naturally stern and savage, and exasperated by contumely; and neither in age nor experience equal to a task of such magnitude. Tiberius, indeed, had arrived at fulness of years, and was a distinguished captain, but possessed the inveterate and inherent pride of the Claudian family; and many indications of cruel nature escaped him, in spite of all his arts to disguise it; that even from his early infancy he had been trained up in an imperial house; that consulships and triumphs had been accumulated upon him while but a youth. Not even during the years of his abode at Rhodes, where under the plausible name of retirement, he was in fact an exile, did he employ himself otherwise than in meditating future vengeance, studying the arts of simulation, and practising secret and abominable sensualities. That to these considerations was added that of his mother, a woman with the ungovernable spirit peculiar to her sex; that the Romans must be under bondage to a woman, and moreover to two youths,¹ who would meanwhile oppress the state, and, at one time or other, rend it piecemeal."

5. While the public mind was agitated by these and similar discussions, the illness of Augustus grew daily more serious, and some suspected nefarious practices on the part of his wife. For some months before, a rumour had gone abroad that Augustus, having singled out a few to whom he communicated his purpose, had taken Fabius Maximus for his only companion, had sailed over to the island of Planasia, to visit Agrippa; that many tears were shed on both sides, many tokens of mutual tenderness shown, and hopes from thence conceived that the youth would be restored to the household gods of his grandfather. That Maximus had disclosed this to Martia, his wife,—she to Livia; and that the emperor was informed of it: and that Maximus, not long after, dying, (it is doubtful whether naturally, or by means sought for the purpose,) Martia was observed, in her lamentations at his funeral, to upbraid herself as the cause of her husband's destruction. Howsoever that matter might have been, Tiberius was scarce entered Illyrium when he was summoned by a letter from his mother, forwarded with speed; nor is it fully known whether, at his return to Nola, he found

¹ Drusus (the son of Tiberius) and Germanicus, who, at that time, commanded the legions on the Rhine.

Augustus yet breathing, or already lifeless. For Livia had carefully beset the palace, and all the avenues to it, with vigilant guards; and favourable bulletins were from time to time given out, until, the provisions which the conjuncture required being completed, in one and the same moment were published the departure of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius.

6. The first atrocity of this new reign was the murder of Posthumus Agrippa: the assassin, a bold and determined centurion, found him destitute of arms, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet was scarce able to dispatch him. Of this transaction Tiberius avoided any mention in the senate; he pretended that orders had been given by his father, in which he enjoined the tribune appointed to the custody of his person, "not to delay to slay Agrippa whensoever he himself had completed his last day." It is very true, that Augustus, having made many and vehement complaints of the young man's demeanour, had obtained that his exile should be sanctioned by a decree of the senate; but he never hardened himself to the extent of inflicting death upon any of his kindred; neither is it credible that he murdered his grandson for the security and establishment of his stepson. More probable it is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former from motives of fear, the latter impelled by a stepmother's aversion, expedited the destruction of this young man, the object of their jealousy and hatred. When the centurion, according to the custom of the army, acquainted Tiberius "that his commands were executed," he answered, "he had commanded no such execution, and that he must appear before the senate, and be answerable to them for it." When this came to the knowledge of Sallustius Crispus, who shared in his secret counsels, and had sent the centurion the warrant, he dreaded that he should be arraigned on a false charge of the assassination; and perceiving it to be equally perilous to confess the truth or invent a falsehood, he warned Livia "that the secrets of the palace, the counsels of friends, and the ministerial acts of soldiers, should not be divulged; that Tiberius should not enfeeble the force of princely authority by referring all things to the senate; that such were the conditions of sovereign authority, that an account should not stand good otherwise than if it were rendered to one alone."

7. Now at Rome, consuls, senators, and knights were rapidly degenerating into a state of abject servitude; and the higher the quality of any, so much the more false and forward; all carefully framing their countenances so as not to appear overjoyed at the departure of the prince, nor over sorrowful in the commencement of a new reign, they intermingled tears with gladness, and wailings with adulation. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, at that time consuls, took first an oath of fidelity to Tiberius; then administered it to Scius Strabo and Caius Turranius; the former, captain of the prætorian guards,¹ the other, intendant of the public stores; next, to the senate, to the people, and to the soldiery: for Tiberius began all things by the consuls, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were yet unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule; even his edict for summoning the senate, he issued not but under the title of the tribunitian power, received by him under Augustus. The words of the edict, too, were few, and extremely modest. It imported that "he should consult them on the funeral honours proper to be paid his father: for himself, he would not depart from the corpse; and that this alone of the public functions he took upon himself." Yet when Augustus was dead, he had given the word to the prætorian cohorts,¹ as imperator; sentinels were stationed about the palace; had soldiers under arms and all the other appendages of a court; went guarded into the forum, guarded to the senate; wrote letters to the armies in the style of one who had obtained princedom; nor did he ever hesitate, but when he spoke to the senate. The chief cause proceeded from fear lest Germanicus, who was master of so many legions, numberless auxiliaries, of the allies, who was

¹ In every Roman camp the general's tent, or pavilion, was called the Prætorium, because the ancient Latins styled all their commanders, Prætors. Scipio Africanus formed a prætorian cohort, or a body of select men, who were stationed near his pavilion, holding themselves in readiness to attend their general in all sudden emergencies. In the time of Augustus, the emperor's tent was called Prætorium Augustale. The name was continued by his successors; and the soldiers, who formed the emperor's body-guard, were called the prætorian cohorts, under the command of an officer, instituted with a special commission, in which he was styled Præfectus Prætorii. The soldiers were for some time quartered at Rome, till Sejanus, in order to forward his own dark designs, persuaded Tiberius to form a prætorian camp at a small distance from the city. See Annals, book iv. s. 2.

wonderfully in favour with the people, might wish rather to possess the empire than to wait for it: he likewise sacrificed somewhat to fame, that he might seem chosen and called to the empire by the voice of the people, rather than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a wife, and by adoption from a superannuated prince. It was afterwards found, that this irresolution was counterfeited, that he might also penetrate into the designs and inclinations of the great men: for, warping their words and their looks into crimes, he stored them up in his heart.

8. On the first day the senate met, he would suffer no other business to be transacted but that about the funeral of Augustus, whose last will, brought in by the vestal virgins, appointed Tiberius and Livia his heirs. Livia was adopted into the Julian family, and dignified with the name of Augusta: in the second degree of succession he appointed his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he had named the great men of Rome, most of them hated by him: but out of vainglory, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the measure of a Roman citizen; except that he left to the Roman people 435,000 great sesterces, part to them as a body, and part to be distributed individually: to every soldier of the prætorian guards a thousand small sesterces; to every soldier of the Roman legions, and to every man in the cohorts of Roman citizens, three hundred. The funeral honours were next considered. Of these, the most signal appeared the following: Asinius Gallus moved, that "the funeral should pass through the triumphal gate:" Lucius Arruntius, "that the titles of the laws which he had made, and the names of all the nations which he had conquered, should be carried before the corpse:" Valerius Messala added that "the oath of allegiance to Tiberius should be renewed every year;" and being asked by Tiberius, "whether at his instigation he had made that motion?" Messala said "he spoke it of his own accord; nor would he ever be determined by any but his own counsel, in things which concerned the commonweal; even though with the hazard of giving offence." This was the only form of flattery which was left to the age. The senators then concurred in a loud cry, "that upon their own shoulders they must bear the body to the pile." Tiberius granted the request with modest insolence, and cautioned the

people by an edict, "that they would not insist that the corpse of Augustus should be burnt rather in the forum, than in the field of Mars, which was the place appointed, and act as they did on a former occasion, when from an excess of zeal they had disturbed the funeral solemnities of the sainted Julius." On the funeral day the soldiers were stationed ~~as~~ for a guard, a circumstance which excited deep derision in those who had either seen, or had received from their fathers, a description of that day of slavery yet crude and immature, and of liberty unsuccessfully reclaimed, when the assassination of the dictator Cæsar was regarded by some as a deed of unexampled atrocity, by others an achievement of superlative glory; "that now an aged prince, who had been long in possession of power, after having provided resources for his heirs, to be employed against the commonwealth,—that such an one, forsooth, must be protected by a guard of soldiers in order that his interment might be undisturbed!"

9. Much discourse concerning Augustus himself followed: the multitude expressing their wonderment at things of no importance; "that the last day of his life, and the first of his reign, was the same; that he died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where his father Octavius died. Even the number of his consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and of Caius Marius together, was much talked of: that he had exercised the power of the tribuneship seven-and-thirty continued years: that he was one-and-twenty times proclaimed imperator; with other honours repeated to him, or created for him." On the other hand, by men of deeper discernment, his life was variously lauded or censured. His admirers said, "that by his filial piety to his father Cæsar, and the necessities of the republic, where the laws no longer governed, he had been driven into civil war; which can never be begun or carried on by just and gentle means. Indeed, provided he might be revenged on the murderers of his father, he had made many sacrifices to Antony; many to Lepidus: but when Lepidus became torpid with sloth, and Antony was lost in sensuality, there was then no other remedy for his distracted country than the sovereignty of one: that the republic, however, had not been settled by him in the form of a kingdom or a dictatorship, but placed under the government of one with the title of prince; that by him the

empire was fenced in by the ocean and rivers far remote;¹ the legions, the provinces, the navy, and all things were systematically connected; justice was dispensed to the citizens, moderation observed towards the allies, and Rome herself was adorned with magnificent structures: in a very few instances had force been employed, and in those only to secure the peace of the whole."

10. In answer to this it was urged, that "his filial piety, and the exigencies of the republic, were laid hold of as a pretence; but that from an ardent lust of reigning, the veteran soldiers were worked upon by means of his largesses: and though a private youth, he had levied an army; had corrupted the legions of the consul; that his interest with the party of Pompey was simulated: that soon after, when, in virtue of a decree of the senate, he possessed himself of the fasces and the authority of the prætorship, when Hirtius and Pansa, the two consuls, were slain, he had seized both their armies: (whether it was that the consuls fell by the enemy, or whether Pansa was killed by pouring poison into his wounds; and Hirtius cut off by his own soldiers, and Cæsar the contriver of this treason:) that by terror he had extorted the consulship in spite of the senate; and turned against the commonwealth the very arms with which the commonwealth had entrusted him for her defence against Antony. To these were added his proscription of citizens; the divisions of lands; which were not commended even by the very persons who carried out the measure. But admitting that the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were sacrifices offered to his father's hate of them, (though eternal justice demanded that he should have made personal animosities yield to public good,) yet he betrayed Pompey by the phantom of a peace, Lepidus by a specious show of friendship. And afterwards, that Antony, having been ensnared by treaties, those of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by the marriage of his sister, paid with his life the penalty of that insidious alliance. After these things no doubt there was peace, but it was a bloody peace. There were, too, the disasters of Lollius, and of Varus; and at Rome, the Varrones, the Egnatii, the Juli, put to death." Nor was his domestic life spared upon this occasion. "The abduction of

¹ The distant rivers were, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

Nero's wife—the pontiffs consulted in mockery as to whether she might marry him consistently with religion, having conceived but not yet brought forth—the excesses of Quintus Tadius and Vedius Pollio ; lastly, his wife Livia had proved a cruel mother to the commonwealth, and to the Julian house a more cruel stepmother: nothing was left by him for the honours of the gods, since it was his pleasure to have temples dedicated to himself, to be represented under the similitude of the powers above, and be ministered unto by flamens and priests: nor had he adopted Tiberius for his successor, either out of affection for him, or from concern for the public welfare ; but having discovered in him a spirit proud and cruel, he sought glory for himself by the contrast of a character consummately base.” For, Augustus, when, a few years before, he solicited the senate to grant to Tiberius another term of the authority of the tribuneship, though in a laudatory speech, had thrown out some observations upon his personal peculiarities, his tastes and course of life, in order that under colour of apologising for them he might brand him with infamy.

11. However, as soon as the funeral of Augustus was over a temple and divine worship were decreed him. The prayers of the senate were then turned to Tiberius; but he replied evasively, descanting on the magnitude of the task of governing, and his own unaspiring disposition; he said that “the genius of the sainted Augustus was alone capable of the mighty charge: that for himself, having been called by him to a participation of his cares, he had learnt by experience how difficult to bear was the burthen of government, and how subject to the caprices of fortune: that a number of persons would more easily discharge the functions of the public administration by sharing its toils amongst them: he therefore implored them that in a state supported by so many illustrious patriots, they would not cast the whole administration upon one.” Such was his speech; but there was more dignity of sentiment in it than sincerity; and the words of Tiberius, which, even upon subjects on which he sought not disguises, were dark and cautious, whether from nature, or from habit, at this juncture, indeed, as he laboured wholly to hide his heart, were more than ever involved in ambiguity and uncertainty: but the senators, whose sole fear was to seem to understand him, burst into

tears, complaints, and vows: with extended arms they supplicated the gods, invoked the image of Augustus, and embraced the knees of Tiberius. He then commanded the imperial register to be produced and recited. It contained a summary of the resources of the state, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in the armies, the amount of the navy, kingdoms, provinces, tributes, customs, the public expenditure, and largesses. This register was all written by the hand of Augustus; and he had added a recommendation to keep the empire within fixed limits; but whether from apprehension for its safety, or jealousy of future rivals, is uncertain.

12. Meanwhile, the senate stooping to the most humiliating importunity, Tiberius happened to say, that, "as he was unequal to the weight of the whole government; so if they entrusted him with any particular part, whatever it were, he would undertake it." Hereupon Asinius Gallus says—"I beg to know, Cæsar, what part of the government you desire to be committed to you?" He was confounded at the unlooked-for question. For a short space he continued mute; but recovering himself, answered, that "it ill became his modesty to choose or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired rather to be excused from the whole." Gallus rejoined, (for he concluded from his countenance that he had given offence,) "by this question he did not mean that he should divide things which were inseparable; but that he might be convinced out of his own mouth, that the commonwealth is but one body, and can be governed only by the mind of one." He added an encomium upon Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and admirably sustained: nor even thus could he mollify his wrath, who had long hated him, from a suspicion that having married Vipsania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and formerly wife of Tiberius, he meant to soar above the rank of a subject, and inherited the haughty spirit of Asinius Pollio, his father.

13. Lucius Arruntius incurred his displeasure next, by a speech not much unlike that of Gallus; though towards him Tiberius bore no inveterate rancour; but he regarded with jealousy Arruntius, as being rich, energetic, accomplished, and, accordingly, in repute with the people. Indeed Augustus,

shortly before his decease, mentioning those who would be capable of obtaining the supreme power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wished for it; or who had both ambition and sufficiency, had said that "Marcus Lepidus was qualified, but would reject it; Asinius would be aspiring, but had inferior talents; and that Lucius Arruntius was not unworthy of it, and upon a proper occasion would attempt it." That he spoke thus of Lepidus and Asinius, is agreed; but, instead of Arruntius, some writers have transmitted the name of Cneius Piso: and every one of these great men, except Lepidus, were afterwards cut off, under imputations of various crimes, all concocted by Tiberius. Quintus Haterius also, and Mamercus Scaurus excited his jealous spirit; the first by asking him, "How long, Cæsar, wilt thou suffer the commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?" Scaurus, because he had said, "There was room to hope that the prayers of the senate would not prove abortive, since he had not put his veto on the motion of the consuls, as he might have done, according to the privilege of the tribunitian authority." He inveighed against Haterius on the instant. Scaurus, towards whom his resentment was more implacable, he passed over in profound silence. Wearied at last with the general importunity, and the expostulations of individuals, he relaxed by little and little; not so far as to declare openly that he would undertake the empire, but only to avoid the uneasiness of rejecting solicitation. It is well known that Haterius, when he went next day to the palace to implore pardon, and embraced the knees of Tiberius who was walking, narrowly escaped being slain by the soldiers, because Tiberius had fallen down, whether by chance or entangled in the arms of Haterius; his anger, however, was not appeased by the danger which threatened so great a man, until Haterius supplicated Augusta, whose most earnest entreaties obtained protection for him.

14. Towards Livia, too, extravagant was the adulation of the senate. Some were for decreeing her the appellation of Parent, others of Mother of her Country; and almost all were of opinion, that to the name of Tiberius should be added, The son of Julia.¹ Tiberius urged impatiently that "public honours to women ought to be cautiously adjudged; and

¹ Livia took the name of Julia, in consequence of her adoption into the Julian family.

that with the same moderation he would receive such as were presented to himself." But, torn with jealousy, and regarding the elevation of a woman as the depression of himself, he suffered not so much as a lictor to be decreed her, and even forbade the raising an altar upon her late adoption, and other similar honours. But for Germanicus he asked the proconsular power; and deputies were sent to present it to him, and at the same time to condole with him on the death of Augustus. The same honour was not solicited for Drusus, because he was present,¹ and already consul-elect. He then named twelve candidates for the prætorship, the number settled by Augustus; and though the senate requested him to increase it, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed it.²

15. The assemblies for electing magistrates were now first transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate; for though the emperor had conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure; yet, till that day, some were still transacted according to the inclination of the tribes. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumbling: the senate, too, released from the charge of buying votes, and from the shame of begging them, willingly acquiesced in the regulation, by which Tiberius contented himself with the commendation of four candidates only, to be accepted without opposition or canvassing. At the same time, the tribunes of the people asked leave to celebrate, at their own expense, certain games in honour of Augustus, which were called after his name, and which were now inserted in the calendar. But it was decreed that the charge should be defrayed out of the exchequer, and that the tribunes should in the circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them. The annual celebration of these plays was, for the future, transferred to the prætors, to whom should fall the jurisdiction of deciding suits between citizens and strangers.³

¹ As the proconsular authority was only available without the city (*extra pomerium*), Drusus, being within the city (*præsens*), could not be invested with it.

² He broke his promise afterwards, and, according to Dio Cassius, appointed no less than fifteen or sixteen candidates.

³ There were eight prætors, but two only had jurisdiction; one in all causes between citizen and citizen; the other, between citizens and strangers, or strangers alone.

16. Thus stood affairs at Rome, when a sedition made its appearance in the legions in Pannonia, without any fresh grounds, save that the accession of a new prince promised impunity to tumult, and held out the hope of advantages to be derived from a civil war. Three legions occupied a summer camp together, commanded by Junius Blæsus, who, upon notice of the death of Augustus and accession of Tiberius, had granted the soldiers a recess from their wonted duties for some days, as a time either of public mourning or festivity. From this beginning they waxed wanton and quarrelsome, lent their ears to the discourses of every profligate, and at last they longed for a life of dissipation and idleness, and spurned all military discipline and labour. In the camp was one Percennius, formerly a busy leader of theatrical factions, after that a common soldier, of a petulant tongue, and from his experience in theatrical party zeal, well qualified to stir up the bad passions of a crowd. Upon minds uninformed, and agitated with doubts as to what might be the condition of military service now that Augustus was dead, he wrought gradually by confabulations by night, or when day verged towards its close; and when all the better-disposed had retired to their respective quarters, he would congregate all the most depraved about him.

17. Lastly, when now also other ministers of sedition were at hand to second his designs, in imitation of a general solemnly haranguing his men, he asked them—"Why did they obey, like slaves, a few centurions and fewer tribunes? When would they be bold enough to demand redress, unless they approached the prince, yet a novice, and tottering on his throne, either with entreaties or arms? Enough had they erred in remaining passive through so many years, since decrepit with age and maimed with wounds, after a course of service of thirty or forty years, they were still doomed to carry arms; nor even to those who were discharged was there any end of service, but they were still kept to the colours, and under another name endured the same hardships. | And if any of them survived so many dangers, still were they dragged into countries far remote, where, under the name of lands, they are presented with swampy fens, or mountain wastes. But surely, burthensome and ungainful of itself was the occupation of war;—ten asses a-day the poor price of

their persons and lives; but of this they must buy clothes, and tents, and arms,—out of this the cruelty of centurions must be redeemed, and occasional exemptions from duty; but, by Hercules, stripes, wounds, hard winters and laborious summers, bloody wars and barren peace, were miseries eternally to be endured; nor remained there other remedy than to enter the service upon certain conditions, as that their pay should be a denarius a-day, sixteen years be the utmost term of serving; beyond that period to be no longer obliged to follow the colours, but have their reward in money, paid them in the camp where they earned it. Did the prætorian guards, who had double pay,—they who after sixteen years' service were sent home, undergo more dangers? This was not said in disparagement of the city guards; their own lot, however, was, serving among uncivilized nations, to have the enemy in view from their tents."

18. The general body received this harangue with shouts of applause, but stimulated by various motives,—some showing, in all the bitterness of reproach, the marks of stripes, others their hoary heads, many their tattered vestments and naked bodies. At length, to such an excess of fury did they proceed, that they proposed to incorporate the three legions into one. Frustrated in this by jealousy, for every man claimed that honour for his own legion, they took another method, and placed the three eagles and the standards of the cohorts together; at the same time, they heap up pieces of turf and rear a tribunal, to form a more conspicuous seat. While engaged in this hurried work, Blæsus came up to them, rebuked them, held them back individually, passionately exclaiming—"Nay; dip your hands rather in my blood: to murder your general will be a crime less heinous than to revolt from your prince. Either I will live to preserve the legions in their faith and obedience, or by my death I will accelerate your remorse."

19. For all this the tumult continued to be accumulated, and the work had already risen breast high, when, at last, overcome by his perseverance, they desisted from their undertaking. Blæsus, with the tact of a consummate speaker, told them—"That sedition and mutiny were not the methods of conveying to the emperor the demands of his soldiers; that neither the soldiers of old had ever made to the ancient

generals, nor they themselves to the deified Augustus, requests so novel ; that it was most inopportune to add to the load of cares which pressed upon a prince in the commencement of his reign. If however they meant to try to gain in peace those concessions, which, even after a civil war, the conquerors never claimed, why did they meditate violence, trampling upon the laws of respect and obedience, violating the solemn obligations of military discipline ? They might appoint deputies ; and in his presence entrust them with their pretensions." Approving his suggestion, they cried out, " That the son of Blæsus, one of their tribunes, should execute that deputation ; and demand in their name, that after sixteen years' service they should be discharged ; they would commit to him the other points, after the successful issue of the first." After the departure of the young officer, all was quiet for a time ; the soldiers, however, exulted to have carried such a point ; the sending the son of their general as the advocate of the public cause, was a satisfactory indication that they had extorted by force what by gentle means they would never have gained.

20. In the mean-time those companies, which, before the sedition began, were sent to Nauportum, to repair roads and bridges, and see to other requisites, no sooner heard of the uproar in the camp, than they tore up their ensigns and plundered the neighbouring villages, even Nauportum itself, which resembled a municipal town. The centurions, who sought to restrain them, they first assailed with mockery and contumelies, at last with blows. Their vengeance was chiefly directed against the præfect of the camp, Aufidienus Rufus, whom they drag from his chariot, load with baggage, and drive in the van of the moving body, repeatedly asking him in scorn, " Whether he liked carrying such enormous burthens such immense distances !" This they did because Rufus, who had been long a common soldier, then a centurion, and afterwards præfect of the camp, had restored the primitive strictness of discipline ; was inured to service and toil ; and therefore a more rigid exactor of them because he had endured them himself.

21. By their arrival the sedition was renewed ; the seditious roaming about ravaged the country on every side. Blæsus, for an example of terror to the rest, ordered those who were most laden with plunder, to be scourged and incarcerated ; for

the general was still obeyed by the centurions, and by all the best disposed soldiers; but the others struggled with those who were carrying them off; clasped the knees of the bystanders; now called upon individuals by name; then cried out to the century, the cohort, the legion, to which each belonged, that the same ignominy awaited upon them all: with the same breath they heaped invectives on their general, and called heaven and the gods to witness; nor left they aught unattempted to excite hatred, commiseration, fear, resentment. The whole body rushed to their relief, burst open the prison, and loosed their bonds; and now even united with deserters, and men convicted of capital crimes.

22. After this the flame of discord burst forth with increased fury, and the sedition found more leaders. One Vibulenus, a common soldier, exalted on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Blæsus, even thus declaimed in the ears of a multitude already outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to say: "To these unoffending men, these abject sufferers, you have indeed restored light and breath; but, who will restore life to my brother; my brother to me? Sent hither by the German army, with propositions for our common good, he was last night butchered by the gladiators of Blæsus, men whom he entertains and arms for the destruction of his soldiers. Answer me, Blæsus, where hast thou thrown away his corpse? Even the enemy do not grudge burial to the slain: when I have satiated my sorrow with kisses and tears, command me also to be murdered, provided that these may bury us; the heinous crime for which we were slain being none other than that of studying the common interest of the legions."

23. He added to the effect of these expostulations by tears, and by beating his breast and face. Then disengaging himself from those on whose shoulders he was borne, and throwing himself headlong at the feet of individuals, he raised such a spirit of frenzy and vengeance, that one party of them bound the gladiators that formed a portion of the slaves of Blæsus; another, the rest of his slave-band; while others hurried away to search for the corpse; and, had it not been quickly manifest that there was no corpse to be found, that the slaves had upon the rack denied the murder, and that Vibulenus never had any brother, they had gone nigh to sacrifice the general: as it was, they thrust out the præfect,

of the camp and the tribunes, and as they fled, plundered their baggage: they likewise put to death Lucilius the centurion; on whom, with the drollery characteristic of soldiers, they had fixed the appellation of "Cedo alteram," ("Give me another,") because when upon the back of a soldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call aloud for another, and then another. The other centurions sought safety in concealment; one only, Julius Clemens, being retained, who for his prompt capacity was deemed a fit person to be entrusted with the conveyance of the soldiers' demands; nay, even two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were preparing to turn their swords upon each other; the eighth demanding that a centurion nicknamed Sirpicus should be put to death, and the fifteenth protecting him; and blood would have flowed had not the soldiers of the ninth interposed with entreaties, and with threats to those who would not listen to prayers.

24. Intelligence of these things compelled Tiberius, though close, and ever labouring to smother all events of a disastrous nature, to despatch his son Drusus thither, with the principal men of the state and two prætorian cohorts; without any precise instructions, but to adapt his measures to the exigencies of the case: the cohorts were strengthened with an extraordinary force of chosen men. To these were added great part of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the German troops, then serving as the emperor's guards. Elius Sejanus,¹ lately joined with his father Strabo in the command of the prætorian bands, was also appointed, not only as governor to the young prince, but, as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, as a fit instrument to inspire the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. When Drusus approached, the legions, for show of respect, marched out to meet him; not, as usual, with joy, and glittering with gay trappings, but in a state of such hideous uncouthness, and with such looks as indicated contumacy rather than the sadness they affected.

25. As soon as he was within the entrenchment, they secured the entrances with guards, and ordered parties of armed men to wait in certain quarters of the camp: the rest surrounded the tribunal of Drusus in an immense mass; Drusus stood beckoning with his hand for silence: as often as

¹ For the character of Ælius Sejanus, see *Annals*, book iv. a. 1.

they looked back upon their own numbers, they spoke loud, and in terms of furious insolence: again, when they beheld Cæsar, awe and trembling seized them: a hollow and inarticulate murmur was heard; next, a furious clamour; then, suddenly, a dead silence: according to the different passions which agitated their minds, they were either timorous or terrible. At length, during a quiet interval, he read his father's letter, in which it was recorded, "that he would take an especial care of the invincible legions, with whom he had shared the hardships of so many wars; and, as soon as his mind had recovered the effects of grief, negotiate with the senate about their demands; in the meantime he had sent them his son, to make them the concessions without delay which could immediately be granted: the test must be reserved for the senate, who could not reasonably be supposed destitute of mercy any more than of justice."

26. The assembly answered, that to Julius Cæsar they had entrusted what to speak in their name. He began with their demands, "to be discharged after sixteen years' service, the rewards to be given them at the conclusion of their service, their daily pay to be a denarius, the veterans to be no longer detained under their ensigns." When Drusus alleged in reply that it belonged to the senate and his father to determine these matters, he was interrupted by clamours: "To what purpose came he; since he could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate their grievances; and, without permission, to render them a single service? But, by Hercules, the power of inflicting blows and death was granted to all. Tiberius used to frustrate every request of the soldiers, by referring all to Augustus; now Drusus was come, with the same artifices: were they never to have a higher visit than from the children of the royal household? It was, indeed, unaccountable, that to the senate the emperor should leave no part in the direction of the army but the rewarding of the soldiery: the same senate ought to be consulted as often as a battle was to be fought, or a private man to be punished; or, were their recompences to be adjudged by many masters, but their punishments to remain without any arbitrator?"

27. At last they abandoned the tribunal, menacing all they met, either of the prætorian guards or friends of Drusus; to create occasion for a quarrel, and a pretext for bloodshed.

Chiefly were they enraged against Cneius Lentulus, because, as he surpassed others in years and military renown, he was suspected to have encouraged the prince, and been himself the foremost to slight these flagrant hardships of the soldiery: nor was it long after, that, as he was leaving Drusus, and from the foresight of danger returning to the winter-quarters, they surrounded him and demanded "whither he went? to the emperor or senate? there also to exercise his enmity to the legions, and oppose their interests?" and instantly assaulted him with stones. He was already covered with blood from a wound by a stone, and awaiting certain assassination, when the troops attending Drusus flew to his assistance and saved him.

28. The following night had a threatening aspect, and seemed likely to give birth to some impious deed: it was made to pass off tranquilly by a mere accident. The moon, in the midst of a clear sky, became suddenly eclipsed; the soldiers, who were ignorant of the cause, took this for an omen referring to their present adventures: to their own labours they compared the eclipse of the planet, and prophesied, "that, if to the distressed goddess should be restored her wonted brightness and splendour, equally successful would be the issue of these their struggles:" hence they made a loud noise, by ringing upon brazen metal, and by blowing trumpets and cornets: as she appeared brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had obstructed their sight, and it was believed that she was now buried in darkness, then (for minds once dismayed are prone to superstition) they bewailed "their own eternal sufferings thus portended, and that the gods viewed their daring deeds with aversion." Drusus, who thought it behoved him to improve this turn in their minds, and to convert to the ends of wisdom what chance had presented, ordered certain persons to go round from tent to tent. For this purpose, he summoned the centurion Clemens, and whoever else were by honest methods acceptable to the multitude. These insinuated themselves everywhere, and mixed with those who kept the night watch, the piquets, and sentinels at the gates, cheering their hopes or

This eclipse, according to the calculation of eminent mathematicians, happened on the 27th of September, A.U.C. 767, of the Christian æra 14. Augustus died on the 19th of the preceding month of August.

alarming their fears: "How long," said they, "shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will our contentions end? Shall we swear allegiance to Percennius and Vibulenus? Will Vibulenus and Percennius support us with pay during our service, and reward us with lands when dismissed? In short, shall they, supplanting the Neros and Drusi, assume the empire of the Roman people? Why should we not rather, as we were the last to revolt, be the first to relent? Such demands as comprise terms for all, are ever slowly accorded: but on your own individual account you may merit favour instantly, and instantly receive it." These reasonings alarmed them, and filled them with mutual jealousies; they separated the younger soldiers from the veterans, and one legion from another: then, by degrees, returned the love of duty and obedience. They relinquished the guard of the gates: and the standards, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, they now restored each to its distinct station.

29. Drusus, as soon as it was day, summoned an assembly, and though unskilled in speaking, yet from the impulse of a noble heart, he rebuked their past, but commended their present behaviour: "With threats and terrors," he said, "it was impossible to subdue him; but if he saw them reclaimed to submission, if from them he heard the language of supplicants, he would write to his father to accept with a reconciled spirit the petitions of the legions." At their entreaty, for their deputy to Tiberius, the same Blæsus was again despatched, and with him Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight of the cohort of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion of the first rank. Conflicting opinions were entertained as to the course now to be pursued; some advised "to suspend all proceeding till the return of the deputies, and by a courteous treatment in the meanwhile, to soothe the soldiers;" others maintained, "that remedies more potent must be applied: in a multitude was to be found nothing which was not in extremes; always imperious where they are not awed, when subdued by fear they might be safely despised: now that they were bowed down by superstition, the general should add to their fears by cutting off the authors of the sedition." The genius of Drusus inclined to measures of severity: Vibulenus and Percennius were by his command produced and executed: most writers state that they were dispatched and hastily

buried within his tent ; others, that their bodies were thrown over the entrenchments, for a public spectacle of terror.

30. Then the other culprits were hunted up according as each had a principal hand in the disturbance. Some, too, who were wandering up and down without the camp, were slain by the centurions or prætorian soldiers: others were by their own companies delivered up, as a proof of their fidelity. The consternation of the soldiers was heightened by the premature setting in of winter, with incessant rains, and so violent, that they were unable to stir from their tents, or maintain common intercourse ; nay, scarce to keep their standards fixed, assailed continually, as they were, by tempestuous winds and raging floods. Dread of the displeasure of heaven, also, still haunted them. " Not without cause," said they, " the stars grew dim, and tempests burst on impious heads ; neither against these their calamities was there other relief than to relinquish an ill-starred and polluted camp, and, after expiation of their guilt, return to their several winter-quarters." The eighth legion departed first ; and then the fifteenth: the ninth clamoured for waiting the arrival of a letter from Tiberius ; but when deserted by the other two, anticipated the necessity which shortly awaited them, by a voluntary act. Drusus also, as the commotion in that quarter had now pretty well subsided, without staying for the return of the deputies, went back to the city.

31. Almost at the same time, and from the same causes, a disturbance arose in the legions in Germany, but the more alarming as their numbers were greater. Earnest were their hopes that Germanicus would never brook the rule of another, but put himself in the hands of the legions, who had force sufficient to carry everything their own way. Upon the Rhine¹ were two armies; that called the higher, commanded by Caius Silius, lieutenant-general; the lower, by Aulus Cæcina: the command in chief rested in Germanicus, then occupied in making a census of the Gauls: the forces, however, under Silius, would not make up their minds till they had

¹ The whole tract of Gaul, on the borders of the Rhine, was reduced to subjection, and divided by Augustus into Upper and Lower Germany. Whenever they are mentioned, it will be proper to bear in mind, that both lay on this side of the Rhine, and were no part of Germany, properly so called.

seen the success of the revolt which others began: the soldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrage, which took its rise from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, drawing after them the first and twentieth. These were all upon the frontiers of the Ubians, in the same summer camp, living in utter idleness or light duty. On hearing, therefore, that Augustus was dead, the herd of slaves lately enlisted in the city, familiar with licentiousness, and impatient of military hardship, began to incite the simple minds of the rest with saying, "that now was the time for veterans to obtain their well-earned dismissal; the fresh soldiers, larger pay; and all, some mitigation of their miseries; and get redress for the cruelty of the centurions." These were not the harangues of a single incendiary, like Percennius amongst the Pannonian legions; nor uttered, as there, in the ears of men, who while they saw before their eyes armies more powerful than their own, heard them with awe and trembling: many were the mouths that uttered seditious language; frequent were the boasts, "that in *their* hands lay the destinies of Rome; by *their* victories the empire was enlarged; and that the commanders of armies had adopted a surname derived from them."

32. Neither did Cæcina strive to restrain them; for the madness of so many had broken his spirit. On a sudden, transported with rage, they rushed with drawn swords upon the centurions, for they had ever given occasion to discontent among the soldiers, and were always the first victims of their vengeance. They knocked them down, and beat them dreadfully, sixty falling upon each, to match the number of centurions in a legion. Then, torn and mangled, and some of them lifeless, they threw them out before the rampart, or into the Rhine. Septimius, who had fled for refuge to the tribunal of Cæcina, and lay clasping his feet, was demanded with incessant importunity, till he was surrendered to destruction. Cassius Chærea, (afterwards famous among posterity for killing Caligula,) then a young man, and of undaunted spirit, opened himself a passage with his sword through the armed men that opposed him. After this, neither tribune nor præfect of the camp retained authority. The soldiers themselves divided among them the watches and the guards, and whatever other services the exigency of the moment imposed. Hence, those who dived deepest into the spirit of

the soldiery, gathered a special indication of an important and obstinate insurrection; for not in separate bodies, nor at the instigation of a few, but all indiscriminately, either kindled into rage or reposed in silence: and that with so much uniformity and regularity; that you would conclude them to be under the command of one.

33. To Germanicus, meanwhile, then receiving, as I have said, the tribute in Gaul, news arrived of the decease of Augustus, whose grand-daughter Agrippina he had to wife, and by her many children: he was himself the son of Drusus, who was brother of Tiberius, and he was the grandson of Livia, but he was harassed by the secret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him: hate, the occasions of which were the more stimulating because they were unjust; for the memory of his father, Drusus, was revered amongst the Roman people, and there was a strong persuasion that, had he succeeded to the empire, he would have restored liberty; hence their partiality to Germanicus, and the same hope of him: for this young man possessed an unassuming disposition, and a remarkable sweetness of manners, utterly remote from the language and looks of Tiberius, which were haughty and mysterious. In addition, there were such animosities as arise between females, while towards Agrippina, Livia was actuated by the rancour natural to stepmothers; and Agrippina was somewhat too vindictive, only that from her chastity and love for her husband, she always gave a good direction to her spirit, though unyielding. ✓

34. But Germanicus, the nearer he stood in succession to supreme rule, the more vigorously he exerted himself on behalf of Tiberius: to him he induced the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as also the Belgic states, to swear allegiance. Immediately after, having heard of the mutiny of the legions, he proceeded to the spot with all despatch, when he found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes cast down, in feigned token of remorse. After he entered the lines, a dissonant cry of woe began to be heard; nay, some, catching hold of his hand as if to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths to feel their toothless gums; others showed their limbs, bowed with old age. As he saw the assembly which stood before him was a confused mass, he commanded them "to range themselves into companies, that

they might thus more distinctly hear his answers; as also to place before them their several standards; that thus, at least, the cohorts might be distinguished." They obeyed him doggedly; then beginning with the "high character of Augustus," he passed on to the "victories and triumphs of Tiberius,"¹ and with especial praises celebrated "his brilliant achievements, with those very legions, in the Germanies;" he next commended the harmony that prevailed in Italy, the fidelity of the Gauls: "there was," he said, "no trace of commotion or dissension in any quarter."

35. Thus far they listened with silence, or with a subdued murmur. When he touched on their mutiny, inquiring—"Where was the discretion of the soldier? where the glory of ancient discipline? whither had they driven their tribunes, whither their centurions?" to a man they stript themselves to the skin, exhibiting reproachfully the seams that once were wounds, and the marks of stripes. Then, with mingled voices, they urge "the exactions for exemptions, their scanty pay, their rigorous labours;" and in particular they complain of "ramparts, entrenchments, laying in forage, materials, wood," with every other labour required by the exigencies of war, or against idleness in the camp. Most distressing was the cry of the veterans, who, enumerating thirty years' service or more, "besought him to give relief to men worn out with toils, and not leave them to die in them, but grant them a discharge from a service so oppressive, and a comfortable retreat." Nay, some there were who demanded payment of the money bequeathed them by the deified Augustus, with expressions of happy omen to Germanicus; and proffered their cordial support if he wished the empire. Here, as if contaminated with their treason, he leaped headlong from the tribunal; but with swords drawn they opposed his departure, and threatened his life if he refused to return: but he, with passionate protestations, that "he would rather die than throw off his allegiance," snatched his sword from his side, and having raised it, was in the act of bringing it down upon his breast, but those who were next him seized his hand and held it firmly. A cluster of soldiers in the extremity of the

¹ Tiberius conquered in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum. He commanded in Germany, and obtained several victories. Suet. in Tib. s. 18 and 20. Vallicus Patere. lib. ii. s. 104.

assembly exhorted him, nay, what is incredible to hear, some separate individuals, deliberately advancing nearer, exhorted him "to strike:" a soldier, named Calusidius, even offered him his naked sword, adding—"It is a sharper one;" an act which to the rest, furious though they were, seemed inhuman, and of too atrocious a character: and a pause ensued, during which Cæsar was hurried away into his tent by his friends.

36. There a consultation was held on the means of allaying the disorder: for it was advised, "that deputies were preparing to be despatched to bring over the upper army to the same cause; that the capital of the Ubians was devoted to destruction; and that their hands, once engaged in plunder, would forthwith be employed in ravaging the Gauls." This dread was augmented by the fact that the enemy knew of the mutiny in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the empire, if the bank of the river were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries against the legions in revolt, was to engage in a civil war: severity was dangerous; to bribe, flagitious; and the state would be equally endangered whether nothing were conceded to the soldiers or everything. After a careful comparison of the arguments, it seemed good that a letter should be written as from Tiberius,—“That those who had served twenty years should be altogether dismissed; such as had served sixteen, should receive a qualified discharge, being still retained in the service, but released from every duty except that of repelling the enemy; and that the legacy which they demanded should be paid and doubled.”

37. The soldiers perceived that these offers were fabricated to meet the exigencies of the moment, and demanded to have them forthwith executed; but though the discharges were promptly executed by the tribunes, the payment was adjourned to their several winter-quarters: but the fifth legion and the twenty-first did not stir, till in the same summer camp they received the money, collected from the stock of Germanicus himself and his friends. Cæcina, lieutenant-general, led the first legion and twentieth back to the capital of the Ubians; their march exhibiting a disgraceful spectacle, for the money-bags extorted from their general were carried amidst the ensigns and eagles. Germanicus, having gone to the upper army, brought the second, thirteenth, and sixteenth legions to swear allegiance without hesitation: to the four-

teenth, who demurred a little, he offered their money and a discharge, though they did not demand them.

38. But a party of veterans of the disorderly legions, and who were then in garrison among the Chaucians,¹ showed symptoms of mutiny, but were somewhat awed by the instant execution of two soldiers at the command of Mennius, præfect of the camp; an act beneficial in its effect, but irregular. Afterwards, the commotion beginning to wear a stormier aspect, he fled, but was discovered; and finding no security in his retreat, he drew upon daring for protection, and told them—"That not to the præfect, but to Germanicus their general, to Tiberius their emperor, was this violence done." At the same time, all that would have stopped him being dismayed, he snatched the colours and faced about towards the bank of the river, and exclaiming that he would treat as deserters every man who quitted the marching body, led them back to their winter-quarters, discontented, but afraid to mutiny.

39. Meantime, the deputies from the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar,² whither he had returned. Two legions wintered there, the first and twentieth, with the veterans lately discharged, but retained under the standard. Timorous and distracted with conscious guilt, they conceived a fear that they were come by command of the senate to cancel concessions which they had by sedition extorted; and, as it is the custom of the crowd to charge some one with crimes however imaginary, they accuse Minutius Plancus, who had been consul, and was chief of the deputation, of being the proposer of this decree of the senate. In the dead of night they began to clamour for the standard in the quarters of Germanicus, and rushing tumultuously to his gate, burst the doors, dragged the prince out of his bed, and with menaces of death compelled him to deliver the standard. Then, as they roamed about the streets, they met the deputies, who, having heard of the tumult, were hastening to Germanicus, loaded them with insults, and were about to massacre them.

¹ The territory of the Chaucians lay between the rivers Amisia (the *Eme*) and Albis (the *Elbe*). Hence it appears, that after the slaughter of Varus the Romans were still in possession of some strongholds in Germany.

² The Ubian altar, now *Bonn*.

particularly Plancus, whom a sense of dignity had restrained from flight; nor in this danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the first legion, where, embracing the eagle and standards, he protected himself by the sanctity in which they were held.¹ And had not Calpurnius the eagle-bearer warded off the fatal blow, an ambassador of the Roman people, in a Roman camp, would have deluged with the pollution of his blood the altars of the gods; a deed seldom paralleled among our enemies. At length, day returning, when the general, and the soldiers, and their actions could be distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp, and commanding Plancus to be brought, seated him by himself upon the tribunal; then imputing the furious outbreak to a fatality, and affirming that it had been rekindled by the resentment, not of the soldiers, but of the gods, he explained the objects of the embassy, and lamented eloquently “the violated laws of legation, and the serious and unprovoked attack upon Plancus himself, together with the deep disgrace incurred by the legion.” And as the assembly seemed awed rather than pacified, he dismissed the deputies under a guard of auxiliary horse.

40. Germanicus was generally censured—“That in this alarming crisis he retired not to the higher army, where he would have received obedience, and succour against the revolters. Enough and more had he erred by discharges, rewards, and lenient counsels; or, if he disregarded his own safety, why expose his infant son,² why his pregnant wife, amongst soldiers infuriated, and the violators of everything held sacred by man? It became him at least to restore his wife and son to her grandfather and to the state.” He was long unresolved; and his wife, who was averse to leave him, urged that “she was the grand-daughter of the deified Augustus, and was not so degenerate as to shrink from danger.” At last embracing her and their son, with many tears, he prevailed with her to depart. A band of females in mournful plight moved slowly on; the wife of a great

¹ The ensigns and the eagles were the gods of a Roman army. Tacitus calls them *propria legionum numina*. Tertullian says, *Religio Romanorum tota castrensis; signa teneratur, signa jurat, et omnibus diis præponit*.

² This was Caligula, afterwards emperor.

commander compelled to be a fugitive, and bearing her infant son in her bosom. Around her were the wives of her friends, dragged along with her, and uttering lamentations; nor were those that remained less affected.

41. The appearance of Cæsar, unlike that of a victorious general, and in his own camp, but as if he were in a vanquished city, and the groans and plaints of the multitude, engaged the ears and eyes even of the soldiers. They advanced from their tents, and asked, "Whence that doleful sound? what so lamentable! that so many ladies of illustrious quality, (not a centurion to guard them, not a soldier, their general's wife utterly undistinguished, destitute of her ordinary train,) should be proceeding to the Treveri to the protection of aliens!" Hence shame and commiseration seized them; and the remembrance of Agrippa, her father; Augustus, her grandfather; Drusus, her father-in-law; herself celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of signal chastity: then **they** thought of her infant son, born in the camp,¹ nursed in the tents of the legions, and by them named Caligula, because he generally wore that kind of boot to win the affections of the common soldiers. But nothing so subdued them as jealousy of the Treveri; they beseech her to return and remain with them: thus some hastened to stop Agrippina; but the main body returned to Germanicus, who, as he was, yet in the transports of grief and anger, thus addressed the surrounding crowd.

42. "To me, nor wife, nor son, are dearer than my father² and the commonwealth. But as for my father, he will be protected by his own majesty; and the Roman empire by her other armies. As for my wife and children, whom for your glory I could freely sacrifice, I now remove them from your rage, that whatever dire purpose you may have conceived towards them, my blood alone may flow to satiate your fury; and that the murder of the great-grandson of Augustus, the murder of the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, may not augment your guilt. For, during these last days,

¹ Caligula was born in Germany:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

² Not his real father, Drusus, who was long since dead. He means Tiberius, who had adopted him by order of Augustus.

what has been unattempted by you? What unviolated? To this audience what name shall I give? Can I call you 'Soldiers?' you who have beset with arms the son of your emperor, confined him in your trenches? 'Citizens' can I call you? you who have treated with such scorn the authority of the senate? The obligations observed by enemies,—the sacred persons and privileges of ambassadors,—the laws of nations,—you have violated. The deified Julius quelled a sedition in his army by a single word—by calling those who renounced their allegiance 'Quirites.' The deified Augustus terrified the legion that fought at Actium into submission by his countenance and look. If the armies in Syria and Spain condemn the authority of us, who, though not yet equal to them, are descended from them, we should think their behaviour strange and base. Do you, the first and the twentieth legions, the former enrolled by Tiberius himself, the other his constant companions in so many battles, and by him enriched with so many bounties, make this goodly return to your general? And shall I be the bearer of such tidings to him,—while he receives none but joyful intelligence from the other provinces,—that his own recruits, his own veterans, have not been satiated with exemption from service nor money? Must I tell him that here alone centurions are butchered,—tribunes expelled,—ambassadors imprisoned,—the camp and the rivers polluted with blood,—and that I drag out a precarious existence among men implacably set against me?

43. "Wherefore, on the first day that I addressed you, did you wrest from me that sword which I was on the point of plunging into my breast? Unwise in your friendship! preferably and with greater kindness did he act who proffered me a sword; at all events I should have fallen ere I was privy to so many enormities committed by my army: you would have chosen a general who would leave my death unatoned for, but would avenge that of Varus and the three legions: and oh! may the gods never permit that the Belgians, although offering their services, shall reap the credit and renown of retrieving the Roman name, and of humbling the German nations. May thy spirit, O sainted Augustus! which is received into heaven,—thy image, my father Drusus! and thy memory with those same soldiers who even

now are touched with a sense of duty and a desire of fame,—wash out this stain, and turn the rage of citizens among themselves to the destruction of their enemies! And as for you, in whom I behold other countenances and altered minds, if you mean to render to the senate its ambassadors, to your emperor the allegiance due to him, to me, my wife and son, fly from the touch of guilt; set the disaffected by themselves: this will confirm your resolution to repent, and pledge you to fidelity.” ✓

44. Softened into supplicants by these words, and confessing that his reproaches were true, they besought him to punish the guilty, to pardon the misled, and lead them against the enemy,—to recal his wife, to bring back the nurseling of the legions, and not let him be given a hostage to the Gauls. Against the recalling of Agrippina, he alleged the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but said that his son should return, and that to themselves he left to execute what remained. No longer the same men, they run in all directions and drag all the ringleaders of the mutiny in bonds to Caius Cretonius, commander of the first legion, who judged and punished them severally after this manner:—The legions, with their swords drawn, surrounded the tribunal; the accused was by a tribune exposed to view upon a scaffold, and, if they proclaimed him guilty, cast headlong down and butchered. The soldiers rejoiced in the execution, because by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated. Nor did Germanicus restrain them, since on themselves remained the cruelty and reproach of the slaughter committed without any order of his. ✓ The veterans followed the example, and were soon after ordered into Rhætia, in appearance to defend that province, on account of the threatened inroads of the Suevians,—in reality, to remove them from a camp still horrible to their sight, not less from the severity of the remedy, than from the memory of their crime. He afterwards reviewed the centurions; before him they were cited singly; each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his service, exploits in war, and military presents, if with any he had been distinguished. If the tribunes, or his legion, bore testimony to his diligence and integrity, he kept his post; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

45. The disturbances at hand thus composed, others as great remained from the outrageous conduct of the fifth and twenty-first legions. They were in winter-quarters, sixty miles off, in a place called the Old Camp,¹ and had first begun the sedition; nor was there any wickedness so horrid that they had not perpetrated: neither terrified by the punishment, nor reclaimed by the penitence of their fellow-soldiers, they persevered in their fury. Cæsar, therefore, prepared to send vessels, arms, and allied troops down the Rhine, determined to put the matter to the decision of the sword, if they persisted in their revolt.

46. But at Rome, the issue of the sedition in Illyricum being not yet known, and tidings of the uproar in the German legions having arrived, the city, in a state of alarm, made it a matter of charge against Tiberius, "That while with feigned delay he mocked the senate and people, who were feeble and unarmed, the soldiery were in open rebellion; nor could they be kept in subjection by the immature authority of two young men. He ought to have gone himself, and awed them with the majesty of imperial power; as doubtless they would have returned to duty upon the sight of a prince of consummate experience, and also the supreme arbiter of the richest rewards and the most rigorous punishment. Could Augustus, in the decline of life, take so many journeys into Germany? and should Tiberius, in the vigour of his age, sit in the senate, wresting the expressions of senators? He had consulted sufficiently for the servitude of the city: measures should be taken to calm the restless spirits of the soldiers, that they might adapt themselves to the burthen of repose."

47. Against these remonstrances, Tiberius maintained his fixed resolve not to quit the capital, nor imperil himself and the empire. In truth, many and conflicting considerations perplexed him—"The German army was the stronger; that of Pannonia nearer: the power of both the Gauls supported the former; the latter was at the gates of Italy. To which, therefore, should he first repair? He feared, too, lest those who were not preferred might be exasperated by the affront.

¹ *Vetera* is the same as *vetera castra*, the old camp; a place rendered famous by the siege conducted by Civilis, the Batavian chief. Hist. book iv. s. 22. It is now called Santen, in the duchy of Cleves.

But by sending one of his sons to each, they were treated alike, without lowering the imperial dignity, which is most revered at a distance. Besides, the young princes would be excused, if to their father they referred some matters; and if they disobeyed Germanicus and Drusus, he might himself appease or quell them: but if they contemned their emperor, what resource remained?" However, as if he were on the point of marching, he chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet; then, artfully alleging the winter or business, for some time he imposed upon men of sense, still longer on the multitude, and it was very long before the provinces saw through him.¹

48. Germanicus had already drawn together his army, and was prepared to take vengeance on the seditious; but, judging it proper to allow farther space for trial, whether they would follow the late example, and consult their own safety, he sent letters before him to Cæcina, "that he was coming, with a powerful force; and, if they prevented him not by executing the guilty, he would put them to the sword indiscriminately." These letters Cæcina privately read to the standard-bearers, the inferior officers, and such of the private soldiers as were least disaffected,—exhorted them "to redeem themselves from death, and all from infamy; for, in peace, motives and merits were regarded, but when war assailed, the innocent and guilty fell promiscuously." The officers, having sounded those they believed fit for their purpose, and found the majority of the legions still to persevere in their duty, at the suggestion of the general, settled a time for putting to the sword all the most depraved and turbulent: then, on a signal given among themselves, they rushed into their tents, and butchered them, while in utter ignorance of the plot,—none but those who were privy to it understanding wherefore the massacre began, or where it would end.

49. This had a different character from all the civil slaughters that ever happened: it was not in a battle, nor between

¹ Tiberius, in the first two years after his accession, never once stirred out of Rome; nor did he afterwards venture farther than Antium, or the isle of Capreae. He pretended an intention to visit the provinces, and made preparations every year, without so much as beginning a journey. He was at last called "Callipedes," a man famous in Greece for being in a hurry, and never advancing an inch. Suet. in Tib. a. 33.

men from opposite camps, but from the same tents; men who ate at the same board by day, and slept in the same apartment by night, separated themselves into parties, and hurled darts at their comrades: wounds, outcries, and blood were open to sense, but the cause remained hid; chance governed the rest. Some, too, of the well-affected were slain; after that, the most guilty, finding who were the objects of the carnage, had themselves also snatched up arms. Neither general nor tribune was present to control the proceeding; full licence was given to the soldiers, with leave to gratify revenge, and satiate themselves with blood. Germanicus soon after entered the camp, and, lamenting with many tears, that "this was not a remedy, but a massacre," commanded the bodies to be burnt. Their minds, even then fiercely agitated, were seized with a sudden desire to attack the foe, as an expiation of their ferocity: nor otherwise, they thought, could the ghosts of their brethren be appeased, than by receiving honourable wounds in their own profane breasts. Germanicus fell in with the ardour of the soldiers, and, throwing a bridge over the river, marched over twelve thousand legionary soldiers, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse, whose sense of duty had not been vitiated by that mutiny.

50. The Germans, who were not far off, passed their time merrily whilst the Romans were held by a cessation of arms, occasioned first by the death of Augustus, afterwards by dissensions: but the Roman general, by a forced march, cut a way through the Cæsian forest, and levelling the barrier begun by Tiberius, encamped there. In the front and rear they were defended by a palisade,—on each side by a pile of timber: thence, traversing a gloomy forest, they deliberated which of two routes they should adopt, the short and frequented, or the more intricate and unexplored, and therefore unguarded against by the foe. The latter being chosen, in everything else despatch was observed; for by the scouts intelligence was brought, that there was with the Germans, that night, a festival devoted to mirth, and regularly celebrated with banqueting. Cæcina was ordered to advance with the light cohorts, and to clear a passage through the forest: at a moderate distance followed the legions. The night, which was starlight, aided the design; and they arrived

at the villages of the Marsians,¹ and parties were posted around. The Germans were even then stretched here and there upon their beds, or lying by their tables, in perfect security, and without any watch stationed in advance: so complete was the disorder occasioned by their carelessness—no fear of hostile attack; nor was it, indeed, a state of repose, other than the languor and remissness of men oppressed with drunkenness.

51. The legions, who were impatient for the onset, Cæsar divided into four battalions, to give a wider range to the devastation: he wasted the country by fire and sword to the extent of fifty miles; nor sex nor age found mercy; places sacred and profane, without distinction, even the temple of Tanfana, the most celebrated amongst these nations, all were levelled with the ground: the soldiers, who had slain men half asleep, disarmed, or dispersed, escaped unwounded. This slaughter roused the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes; and they beset the passes of the forest, through which the army was to return: which Cæsar discovering, he proceeded cautiously, in an order adapted at once to marching and fighting. The auxiliary cohorts and part of the horse were in the van, followed at a short interval by the first legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty-first legion closed the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear, and after them marched the rest of the allies. But the enemy stirred not, till the army was extended through the wood: then, skirmishing with the front and wings, with their whole force they fell upon the rear: the light cohorts were disordered by the close German bands, when Cæsar, riding up to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "This is the moment to obliterate the scandal of sedition: forward! hasten to turn your guilt into glory." Their courage burst into a flame, and at one rush they broke through the enemy's line, and drove them back into the plain, slaughtering them as they went: meanwhile, the van of the army emerged from the forest and there fortified a camp. The rest of the march was uninterrupted, and the soldiers, elated with their recent exploits, and forgetting by-gone matters, were placed in winter-quarters.

¹ The Marsians dwelt in the diocese of Munster, between the rivers Amisia and Luppia.

52. The intelligence of these proceedings affected Tiberius with mingled joy and anxiety. He was glad that the mutiny was suppressed, but it was torture to him that Germanicus, by anticipating the term of service, and by largesses, had gained the affections of the army, as well as that he had acquired military renown. However, he consulted the senate on his acts, and bestowed copious praises upon his valour, but in terms too pompous and studied for it to be believed that he spoke from the recesses of his heart. With more brevity he commended Drusus, and his address in quelling the sedition of Illyricum, but with greater earnestness, and in the language of sincerity; all the concessions made by Germanicus he fulfilled, and extended them also to the Pannonian troops.

53. The same year died Julia,¹ some time since confined by her father Augustus to the isle of Pandataria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium, upon the straits of Sicily, on account of her incontinence. Whilst Caius and Lucius, her sons by Agrippa, yet lived, she was given in marriage to Tiberius; whom she treated with contempt as one beneath her rank. Nor any motive so cogent as this had Tiberius for his retirement to Rhodes. In disgrace and exile, and by the death of Agrippa Posthumus bereaved of all hope, after he had obtained the imperial power he caused her to pine away gradually from want, calculating that from the duration of her exile her murder would lie concealed. Similar was the ground of his cruelty to Sempronius Gracchus, a man of a noble family, of shrewd intellect and eloquent, but unprincipled. He, while Julia was yet Agrippa's wife, had debauched her: nor did his lust end here; but after she was given to Tiberius, the pertinacious adulterer inspired her with disrespect and hatred to her husband; and the letters, too, she wrote to her father, full of asperity against Tiberius, were thought to have been composed by Gracchus. He was therefore banished to Cercina, an island in the African sea, where, for fourteen years, he suffered exile. The soldiers despatched to assassinate him found him upon an eminence which jutted out into the sea, expecting no tidings of happy import. On their arrival he begged a brief respite to send his last will in

¹ She was married to Agrippa, and had by him three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus; and also two daughters, Agrippina and Julia.

a letter to *Alliaria* his wife, and then presented his neck to the executioners: in the magnanimity of his death not unworthy of the *Sempronian* name, though in his life he had degenerated. Some have related, that these soldiers were not sent from Rome, but by *Lucius Asprenas*, proconsul of Africa, at the instance of *Tiberius*, who vainly hoped that the imputation of the murder might be shifted on *Asprenas*.

54. There was likewise this year an admission of new rites, by the addition of a college of priests of *Augustus*; as formerly *Titus Tatius*, to preserve the rites of the *Sabines*, had founded the *Tatian* priests. One and twenty of the most considerable Romans were drawn by lot; *Tiberius*, *Drusus*, *Claudius*, and *Germanicus* were added. The games in honour of *Augustus* began then first to be embroiled by dissension arising out of the performance of pantomimes. *Augustus* had countenanced that pastime, out of complaisance to *Mæcenæ*s, who was a passionate admirer of *Bathyllus*;¹ neither was he himself averse to such pursuits; and he thought it popular to mix in the pleasures of the people. The habits of *Tiberius* took a different turn; but as yet he dared not attempt to engage in severer pursuits a people so long humoured.

55. In the consulship of *Drusus Cæsar* and *Caius Norbanus*, a triumph was decreed to *Germanicus*, the war continuing. He was preparing with all diligence to prosecute it in the summer; but anticipated it by a sudden irruption early in the spring into the territories of the *Cattians*: for he had conceived a hope that the enemy was divided into opposite parties under *Arminius* and *Segestes*; both remarkable for perfidy or fidelity towards us: *Arminius* was the incendiary of Germany; but *Segestes* had given repeated warning of an intended revolt, at other times, and during the banquet immediately preceding the insurrection, and advised *Varus*, "to secure him, and *Arminius*, and all the other chiefs; that the multitude, bereft of their leaders, would not dare to attempt anything; and *Varus* would have an opportunity to separate

¹ *Bathyllus*, the pantomime-performer, is distinguished by *Persius* for his graceful movement:—

"Nec, cum sis cætera fessor,

Tres tantum ad numeros satyri moveare Bathylli."—*Sat. v. 123.*

He is also mentioned by *Juvenal*:—

"Chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo."—*Sat. vi. 63.*

the guilty from the innocent." But fate decreed it, and he was slain by Arminius. Segestes, though drawn into the war by the universal agreement of the nation in it, yet continued to disapprove of it; his detestation being augmented by motives of a domestic nature, for Arminius had carried away the daughter of Segestes, already betrothed to another: the son-in-law hated, the fathers-in-law were at enmity; and those relations which are bonds of affection between friends, fomented the animosities of enemies.

56. Germanicus therefore handed over to Cæcina four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some tumultuary bands of Germans, who dwelt on this side the Rhine; he led himself as many legions, with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in Mount Taunus,¹ upon the site of one raised by his father, he pushed on in light marching order against the Cattians; having left Lucius Apronius to secure the roads and the rivers: for, as the roads were dry, and the rivers within bounds, events in that climate of rare occurrence, he had found no check in his rapid march, but on his return apprehended the violent rains and floods. He fell upon the Cattians with such surprise, that all the weak through sex or age were instantly taken or slaughtered: their youth swam over the Adrana and endeavoured to obstruct the Romans, who commenced building a bridge; then, repulsed by engines and arrows, and having in vain tried terms of peace, after some had gone over to Germanicus, the rest abandoned their cantons and villages, and dispersed themselves into the woods. Matium, the capital of the nation, he burnt, ravaged the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durst the enemy harass his rear, which is their custom, whenever they have fled, more from craft than fear. The Cheruskans had purposed to assist the Cattians, but were deterred by Cæcina, who moved about with his forces from place to place; and the Marsians, who dared to engage him, he checked by a victory.

57. Soon after arrived deputies from Segestes, praying relief against the violence of his countrymen, by whom he was besieged; Arminius having more influence with them than himself, because he advised war; for with barbarians, the more resolute in daring a man is, the more he is trusted

¹ Mount Taunus, near Magontiacum (now Mayence), Brotier says is now called Heyrich.

and preferred in times of commotion. To the deputies Segestes had added Segimund his son; but the young man hesitated, from self-conviction; for the year when Germany revolted, having been created priest at the Ubian altar, he had rent the fillets and fled to the revolters: yet, induced to rely upon Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was graciously received, and conducted with a guard to the Gallic bank of the Rhine. Germanicus thought it worth while to march back, fought the besiegers, and rescued Segestes with a numerous train of his relations and followers; in which were ladies of illustrious rank, and among them the wife of Arminius, the same who was the daughter of Segestes: with a spirit more like that of her husband than her father; neither subdued to tears, nor uttering the language of supplication, but her hand folded within her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her teeming womb. There were likewise carried off the spoils taken at the slaughter of Varus and his army, and given as booty to most of those who then surrendered.

58. At the same time appeared Segestes himself, of vast stature, and undaunted in the consciousness of his fidelity. In this manner he spoke: "This is not the first day that I have approved my faith and constancy to the Roman people: from the moment I was by the deified Augustus presented with the freedom of the city, I have chosen my friends and enemies with reference to your interests, and that not from hatred of my country, (for odious are traitors even to the party they prefer,) but, because the interests of the Romans and Germans were the same; and because I was inclined to peace rather than war. For this reason, before Varus, the then general, I arraigned Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of the league with you. Put off, from the supineness of the general, and seeing there was little protection in the laws, I importuned him to throw into irons myself, and Arminius, and his accomplices: witness that night,—to me I would rather it had been the last! More to be lamented than defended are the events which followed. However, I cast Arminius into irons, and was myself cast into irons by his faction: and now, on the first opportunity of conferring with you, I prefer old things to new, peace to turbulence; and at the same time I might be a fitting mediator for the German nation, with no view of reward, but to clear myself of perfidy,

if they would rather repent than be destroyed. For the youth and inexperience of my son I implore pardon; I admit my daughter has been brought into this state by constraint; it will be yours to consider which should preponderate with you; that she is the wife of Arminius, or the daughter of Segestes." The answer of Germanicus was gracious: he promised indemnity to his children and kindred, and to himself, as a retreat, a place called "Vetera," in the province; then returned with his army, and by the direction of Tiberius, received the title of Imperator. The wife of Arminius brought forth a male child, and the boy was brought up at Ravenna: the mockery he was soon after exposed to I will relate at the proper time.¹

59. The account circulated of the surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception, affected his countrymen with hope or anguish, as they were severally prone or averse to the war. Acting upon a temper naturally violent, the captivity of his wife and the child in her womb subjected to bondage, drove Arminius to distraction: he flew about amongst the Cherusicans, calling them to arms against Segestes, against Germanicus; nor did he refrain from invectives—"An excellent father! a great general! a valiant army, whose many hands had carried off one bit of a woman! That before him three legions fell, three lieutenant-generals; for his method of carrying on war was not by treason nor against pregnant women, but openly, against armed hosts. That the Roman standards were still to be seen in the German groves, there suspended by him to his country's gods. Segestes might live upon the vanquished bank; he might get the priesthood restored to his son; but the Germans would ever regard the fellow as the guilty cause of their having seen between the Elbe and Rhine rods and axes, and the toga. That to other nations who know not the Roman domination, executions and tributes were unknown; and as they had thrown them off, and as Augustus, he who was enrolled with the gods, had retreated without accomplishing his object, and Tiberius, his chosen successor, let them not dread an inexperienced stripling and a mutinous army. If they preferred their country, their

¹ The account here promised, and without doubt given either in the Annals or the History, is totally lost. Strabo says that the son, who was called Thumelicus by the Romans, walked among the captives in the triumph of Germanicus, which is mentioned. Annals, book ii. s. 41.

parents, and their ancient possessions, to masters and new settlements, they should follow Arminius, who led them to glory and liberty, rather than Segestes, who conducted them to infamous servitude."

60. By these means, not the Cheruseans only were roused, but the bordering nations; and Inguiomer, paternal uncle to Arminius, a man long in high credit with the Romans, was drawn into the confederacy; hence Germanicus became more alarmed, and to prevent the war falling upon him with unbroken force, sent Cæcina with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amisia, through the territories of the Bructerians, to effect a division in the army of the enemy. Pedit the præfect led the cavalry along the confines of the Frisians; he himself, embarking four legions, sailed through the lakes;¹ and at the aforesaid river the whole body met, foot, horse, and fleet. The Chaucians, upon offering their assistance, were taken into the service; but the Bructerians setting fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by Lucius Stertinius, despatched against them by Germanicus with a band lightly armed. And amidst the carnage and plunder, he found the eagle of the nineteenth legion lost in the overthrow of Varus. The army marched next to the farthest borders of the Bructerians, and the whole country between the rivers Amisia and Luppia was laid waste. Not far hence lay the forest of Teutoburgium,² and in it the bones of Varus and the legions, by report still unburied.

61. Germanicus, therefore, conceived a desire to pay the last offices to the legions and their leader; while the whole of the army present were moved to deep commiseration for their kinsmen and friends; and generally for the calamities of war and the condition of humanity. Cæcina having been

¹ The Lakes, which are now lost in the vast gulf, called the Zuyder-Zee.

² The commentators give different accounts of the Teutoburgian forest. Guerin, the French translator of Tacitus, says it lay in the diocese of Munster, where there is, at this day, a place called Varendorp, which signifies the burgh of Varus. Brotier places it in the diocese of Paderborn, near the town of Horn, not far from Paderborn, where there is a forest called Teuteberg; and a field called Winfeldt, that is, the field of victory. To confirm his opinion, he says, that bones and military weapons, and also medals of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, are often dug in those woods.

sent before to explore the gloomy recesses of the forest, and to lay bridges and causeways over the watery portions of the morasses and insecure places in the plains, they enter the dreadful scene, hideous in appearance and association. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of ground and the measurement of the principia, left no doubt that the whole was the work of three legions. After that, a half decayed rampart with a shallow foss, where their remains, now sadly reduced, were understood to have sunk down. In the intervening portion of the plain, were whitening bones, either scattered or accumulated, according as they had fled or had made a stand. Near them lay fragments of javelins and limbs of horses. There were also skulls fixed upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent groves were the savage altars, where they had immolated the tribunes and centurions of the first rank. Those who survived the slaughter, having escaped from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest—"Here the commanders of the legions were slain; there we lost the eagles; here Varus had his first wound; there he gave himself another, and perished by his own unhappy hand. In that place, too, stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued. How many gibbets he erected for the execution of his captives; what trenches he dug; and how, in proud scorn, he made a mock at the standards and eagles."

62. The Roman army which was on the spot, buried the bones of the three legions, six years after the slaughter: nor could any one distinguish whether he buried the remains of a stranger, or of a kinsman; but all considered the whole as friends, as relations, with heightened resentment against the foe, at once sad and revengeful. Germanicus laid the first sod used in raising a tomb; thus rendering a most acceptable service to the dead, and showing that he shared the sorrows of the living, a proceeding not liked by Tiberius; whether it were that upon every action of Germanicus he put a malignant construction, or that he believed that the impression produced by the sight of the unburied slain would damp the ardour of the army for battle, and inspire them with fear of the enemy: he also said that—"A general invested with the office of augur, and the most ancient religious functions, ought not to have put his hand to the ceremonies of the dead."

63. Arminius, retiring into pathless places, was pursued by Germanicus, who, as soon as he reached him, commanded the horse to advance and dislodge the enemy from the post they had possessed. Arminius, having directed his men to keep close together, and draw near to the woods, wheeled suddenly about, and to those whom he had hid in the forest, gave the signal to rush out. Then the Roman horse were thrown into disorder by the assault of a new army, and the cohorts sent out to support them, broken in upon by the body of troops that fled, had augmented the consternation; and they were now being pushed into the morass, a place well known to the pursuers, but dangerous to those unacquainted with it, had not Germanicus drawn out the legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy became terrified, our men reanimated, and both retired without advantage on either side. Germanicus, soon after, returning with the army to the Amisia, reconducted the legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet; part of the horse were ordered to march along the sea-shore to the Rhine. Cæcina, who led his own men, was warned, that though he was to return through well-known roads, yet he should with all speed pass the causeway called The Long Bridges. It is a narrow causeway, between vast marshes, and formerly raised by Lucius Domitius. The rest of the country is of a moist nature, either tough and sticky from a heavy kind of clay, or dangerous from the streams which intersect it. Round about are woods which rise gently from the plain, which at that time were filled with soldiers by Arminius, who, by short cuts and quick marching, had arrived there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. Cæcina, who was perplexed how at once to repair the causeway decayed by time, and to repulse the foe, resolved to encamp in the place, that whilst some were employed in the work, others might begin the fight.

64. The Barbarians, having made a vigorous effort to break through the outposts and fall upon those employed in the works, harass the troops, march round them, and throw themselves in their way. A mingled shout arose from the workmen and the combatants; all things equally combined to distress the Romans,—the place deep with ooze, sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced; their bodies were encumbered with their coats of mail, nor could they

hurl their javelins in the midst of water. The Cherusicans, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs; their persons tall, their spears long, so as to wound at a distance. At last the legions, already giving way, were saved from defeat by the approach of night; the Germans not feeling fatigue on account of their success, without refreshing themselves with sleep, even then diverted all the courses of the springs which rise in the neighbouring mountains into the plains; thus the ground being flooded, and the work, as far as they had carried it, overturned, the soldiers had all to do over again. Cæcina, who had served forty years, either under others or in command, was experienced in the vicissitudes of war, prosperous or disastrous, and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore all probabilities, he could devise no other expedient than that of restraining the enemy to the woods till he had sent forward all the wounded and baggage, for between the mountains and the marshes there stretched a plain large enough to admit a little army; to this purpose the legions selected were, the fifth for the right wing, and twenty-first for the left; the soldiers of the first legion to lead the van, of the twentieth to oppose the pursuers.

65. It was a restless night to both armies, but from different causes; the Barbarians with festive carousals, songs of triumph, or horrid cries, filled the vales below and echoing woods; amongst the Romans were feeble fires, low broken murmurs,—they leaned, drooping here and there, against the pales, or wandered about the tents more like men wanting sleep than quite awake. The general, too, was alarmed by direful visions during his sleep; he thought he heard and saw Quintilius Varus, rising out of the marsh, all besmeared with blood, stretching forth his hand and calling upon him, but that he rejected the call, and pushed back his hand as he held it towards him. At break of day the legions, posted on the wings, whether from perverseness or fear, deserted their post, and took sudden possession of a field beyond the bogs; neither did Arminius fall straight upon them, though they lay open to assault; but, when the baggage was set fast in the mire and ditches, the soldiers about it in disorder, the order of the standards confounded, and, as usual at such a time, each man acting hastily for himself, when the ears are slow to catch the word of command, he then commanded his Germans

to charge, exclaiming vehemently, "Behold! Varus and his legions again subdued by the same fate!" Thus he cried, and instantly, with a select body, broke through the mass, and chiefly against the horse directed his weapons; floundering in their own blood and the slippery soil of the marsh, they threw their riders, overturned all they met, and trampled on those that were on the ground. The greatest distress was around the eagles, which could neither be carried against a shower of darts, nor be planted in the slimy ground. Cæcina, while he sustained the fight, had his horse shot, and having fallen, would have been overpowered had not the first legion come up to succour him; our relief came from the greediness of the enemy, who ceased slaying to seize the spoil. And the legions, as the day closed in, by great exertion, got into the open and firm ground; nor was this the end of their miseries; a palisade was to be raised, an entrenchment digged; their instruments, too, for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almost all lost; no tents for the soldiers; no remedies for the wounded. While dividing amongst them their food, defiled with mire or blood, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to so many thousand men the last.

66. It happened that a horse which had broken his fastenings, and as he strayed about, became frightened with a noise, and ran over some that were in his way; this raised such a consternation in the camp, from a persuasion that the Germans had forced an entrance, that all rushed to the gates, especially to the postern,¹ as the farthest from the foe, and safer for flight. Cæcina having ascertained that there was no cause for alarm, but unable to stop them or hold them back, either by his authority or prayers, or even by force, prostrated himself on the threshold of the gate; and thus at length, by appealing to their humanity, (for if they proceeded it must be over the body of the general,) he blocked the passage, and the

¹ There were four gates to a Roman camp. Livy says so in express terms: "Ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut, signo dato, ex omnibus portubus eruptionem facerent." The several gates were, the *prætorian*; the gate opposite to it, at the extremity of the camp, called the *decuman*; and two others, called the *right and left principals*, because they stood on the right and left sides of the camp, fronting the street called *Principia*.

tribunes and centurions satisfied them the while that it was a false alarm.

67. Then assembling them in the court, and desiring them to hear him with silence, he warned them of their difficulties, and their duty under them: "That their sole hope of safety was in their valour, but that must be guided by counsel; that they must keep close within their camp till the enemy, in hopes of taking it by storm, came up nearer to them, then make a sudden sally on every side, ~~that~~ by this sally they might make good their way to the Rhine; but if they fled, more forests, deeper marshes, and the fierce attack of the foe still remained to them; but that if they conquered, honour and renown awaited them." He reminded them of all that was dear to them at home, and the rewards to be obtained in the camp, but suppressed all mention of defeat. He next distributed horses, first his own, then those of the tribunes and leaders of the legions, to all the bravest warriors, without any flattery, that these first, and afterwards the infantry, might charge the enemy.

68. The Germans were in no less agitation, from hope, eagerness, and the opposite counsels of their leaders. Arminius proposed, "To let them march out, and to beset them again in their way when they got into marshes and difficult passes." Inguiomer advised measures more resolute and acceptable to barbarians,—“To invest the camp; it would be quickly captured; there would be more captives, and the plunder uninjured.” As soon therefore as it was light, they level the ditch, cast hurdles into it, attempt to scale the palisade, there being but few men on the rampart, and those who were, standing as if paralysed by fear. But when they were hampered in the fortifications, the signal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets sounded at once, and instantly, shouting and charging, they poured down upon their rear, telling them tauntingly, "That here were no thickets, no marshes, but equal chances in a fair field." The enemy, expecting an easy conquest, and that the Romans were few and half armed, were overpowered with the sounds of trumpets and glitter of arms, which were then magnified in proportion as they were unexpected; and they fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in prosperity, are also destitute of conduct in distress. Arminius fled from the

fight unhurt, Inguiomer severely wounded. The men were slaughtered as long as day and rage lasted. At length at night the legions returned, and though distressed by the same want of provisions, and more wounds, yet in victory they found all things—health, vigour, and abundance.

69. Meanwhile, a report had spread that the army was cut off, and a body of Germans on full march to invade Gaul; so that, under the terror of this news, there were those whose cowardice would have emboldened them to demolish the bridge upon the Rhine, had not Agrippina forbidden the infamous attempt; but this high-minded woman took upon herself all the duties of a general, and distributed to the soldiers gratuitously medicines and clothes, according as any one was in want or wounded. Caius Plinius,¹ the writer of the German wars, relates that she stood at the head of the bridge as the legions returned, and bestowed on them thanks and praises; a behaviour which sunk deep into the heart of Tiberius, “for these attentions he thought were not disinterested; nor was it against foreigners she sought to win the army; for nothing was now left the generals to do, when a woman paid her visits of inspections to the companies, attended the standards, and presumed to distribute largesses; as if before she had shown but small tokens of ambitious designs, in carrying her child (the son of the general) in a soldier’s uniform about the camp, and desiring that he be styled Cæsar Caligula. Already Agrippina was in greater credit with the army than the lieutenant-generals, or even the generals,—a woman had suppressed a sedition which the authority of the emperor was not able to restrain. These jealousies were inflamed and ministered to by Sejanus, who was well acquainted with the temper of Tiberius, and supplied him with materials for hatred prospectively, that he might treasure them up in his heart, and draw them out augmented in bitterness.

70. Germanicus handed over the second and fourteenth of the legions, which he had brought in ships to Publius Vitellius to conduct them by land, that his fleet, thus lightened, might sail on the shoally sea, or run aground with safety when the tide ebbed. Vitellius at first marched without

¹The author of the Natural History.

interruption while the ground was dry, or the tide flowed within bounds; presently the ocean beginning to swell by the action of the north-west wind upon it, and also by the influence of the equinoctial constellation, at which season the sea swells most, the troops were miserably harassed and driven about. The lands were completely inundated; the sea, the shore, the fields, had one uniform face: no distinction of depths from shallows, of firm from treacherous footing; they were overturned by billows, absorbed by the eddies; beasts of burden, baggage, and dead bodies floated among them and came in contact with them. The several companies were mixed at random, wading now breast high, now up to their chin; sometimes the ground failing them they fell, some never more to rise; their cries and mutual encouragements availed them nothing, the noise of the water drowning them; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wise and the foolish; none between circumspection and haphazard, but all were involved in the sweeping torrent. Vitellius at length, having by great exertion gained the higher ground, withdrew the legions thither, where they passed the night without fire and without food, many of them naked or lamed, not less miserable than men enclosed by an enemy, for even such had the resource of an honourable death, while these must perish ingloriously; daylight restored the land, and they marched to the river Unsingis, whither Germanicus had gone with the fleet. The legions were then embarked, while rumour reported that they were sunk; nor was their escape believed till Germanicus and the army were seen to return.

71. Stertinius, who had been sent before to receive the submission of Sigimer, the brother of Segestes, had now brought him and his son to the city of the Ubians; both were pardoned, the father promptly, the son with more hesitation, because he was said to have insulted the corpse of Varus. For the rest, Spain, Italy, and the Gauls vied in supplying the losses of the army, offering arms, horses, money, whatever each had at hand. Germanicus applauding their zeal, accepted only the horses and arms for the war; with his own money he assisted the soldiers; and, to soften by kindness also the memory of the late disaster, he visited the wounded, extolled the exploits of individuals, and, looking at their wounds, with hopes encouraged some with a sense of glory animated others,

and by affability and attention confirmed them all in devotion to himself and to the service.

72. The ornaments of triumph¹ were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their services under Germanicus. The title of father of his country, so often forced by the people upon Tiberius, was rejected by him; nor would he permit swearing upon his acts, though the same was voted by the senate, urging "the instability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raised the more slippery was his position;" he did not, however, thus get credit for a popular spirit, for he had revived the law of treason—a law which, in the days of our ancestors, had indeed the same name, but different questions were tried under it. If any one impaired the majesty of the Roman people by betraying an army, by exciting sedition among the commons, in short, by any maladministration of the public affairs, the actions were matter of trial, but words were free. Augustus² was the first who used to take cognizance of libels under pretence of this law, incensed by the insolence of Cassius Severus, which had prompted him to asperse distinguished persons of both sexes by coarse lampoons. Soon after, Tiberius, when Pompeius Macer, the prætor, consulted him "whether trials should be had under this law?" answered, "that the laws must be executed." He also was exasperated by the publication of satirical verses written by unknown authors, exposing his cruelty, his pride, and dissensions with his mother.

¹ The triumphal *insignia* were, a golden crown, an ivory chair (*sella curulis*), an ivory sceptre (called *scipio*), and a painted robe. Livy, lib. xxx. s. 15.

² By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory libels were strictly prohibited. We read in Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap. 3, that Nævius, the comic poet, was thrown into prison for certain defamatory verses in one of his plays. Horace says, the poets were by the Twelve Tables restrained within due bounds:—

"Quin etiam lex,

Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam

Describi. Vertere modum formidine fustis,

Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti."—Epist. ad Aug.

Augustus, not satisfied with the penalties of the old law, revived the charge of violated majesty, which had been invented by Sylla. Tiberius felt the lash of satire, and was therefore willing to enforce the rule laid down by Augustus.

73. It will be worth the trouble to relate here the pretended crimes charged in the cases of Falanius and Rubrius, two Roman knights of small fortunes, that it may be known from what beginnings, and with what subtlety on the part of Tiberius, this grievous mischief crept in, how it was again restrained, how at last it blazed out and bore down all before it.¹ To Falanius was objected by his accuser, that "amongst the adorers of Augustus, of which there was a sort of college in every house, he had admitted one Cassius, a mimic and infamous character, and, having sold his gardens, had likewise with them transferred the statue of Augustus." Against Rubrius it was charged, "that he had sworn falsely by the divinity of Augustus." When these accusations were known to Tiberius he wrote to the consuls, "that heaven was not therefore decreed to his father, that that honour should be perverted to the destruction of citizens; that Cassius the player was wont to assist others of his profession at the interludes consecrated by his mother to the memory of Augustus; nor was it incompatible with religious adorations, that his bust, like other images of the gods, was comprehended in the sale of houses and gardens. That the oath was to be regarded in the same light as if he had sworn falsely by the name of Jupiter, but to the gods belonged the avenging of injuries done to the gods."

74. Not along after, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was prosecuted for high treason by his own quæstor, Cepio Crispinus; Romanus Hispo supporting the charge. This Cepio began a species of avocation, which through the miserable times and the daring wickedness of men afterwards became very common and notorious; for, at first needy and obscure but of a restless spirit, by creeping into the good graces of the prince, who was naturally cruel, by secret informations, and thus imperiling the life of all the most distinguished citizens, he acquired influence with one, but the hatred of all, and thus exhibited an example, by following which men from being poor became rich, from being contemptible became formidable,

¹ To preserve the majesty of the Roman people was the scope and spirit of the *Lex Majestatis*. Under the emperors, the majesty of the people was annihilated. Whoever was obnoxious to the prince, or his favourites, was brought within the law of majesty. Everything was state-crime.

and, after bringing destruction upon others, at last perished by their own arts. He accused Marcellus of "holding defamatory discourses concerning Tiberius," a charge which it was impossible to repel, when the accuser collected all the most detestable parts of the prince's character, and framed his accusation with reference to them; for because they were true they were believed to have been spoken. To this Hispo added, "that the statue of Marcellus was by him placed higher than those of the Cæsars, and that having cut off the head of an Augustus, he had in the room of it set the head of a Tiberius." At this he flew into such a rage, that breaking silence he cried out, that "he would himself, in this cause, give his vote openly, and upon oath," that the rest might be under the necessity of doing the same. There remained even then some faint traces of expiring liberty. Hence Cneius Piso asked him, "In what place, Cæsar, will you give your opinion? If first, I shall have your example to follow; if last, I fear I may unwittingly dissent from you." Deeply affected by these words, and by how much the more indiscreetly he had let his passion boil over, by so much the more submissive now from regret that he should have committed himself, he suffered the accused to be acquitted of high treason. His trial on the charge of peculation was referred to the proper judges.¹

75. Nor was Tiberius satisfied to assist in the judicial proceedings of the senate only; he likewise sat in the court of justice, in the corner of the tribunal, because he would not dispossess the prætor of his chair; and in his presence many decisions were given in opposition to the intrigues and solicitations of powerful citizens. But while the interests of justice were consulted liberty was undermined. About this time, Pius Aurelius the senator, whose house, yielding to the pressure of the public roads and aqueducts, had fallen, complained to the senate and prayed relief. Opposed by the prætors of the treasury, he was supported by Tiberius, who ordered him the price of his house, for he was fond of being liberal upon fair occasions, a virtue which he long retained,

¹ For the recovery of money obtained by peculation, or other improper means, there was an established jurisdiction; and, in case of condemnation, commissioners, called *Recuperatores*, were appointed to see restitution made.

even after he had abandoned all others. Upon Propertius Celer, once prætor, but now desiring leave to resign the dignity of senator on the score of poverty, he bestowed a thousand great sesterces, upon satisfactory information that his necessities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the same thing, he ordered to prove their allegations to the senate; from his over anxiety to be strict he was thus austere even in his good actions. Hence the rest preferred poverty and concealment to exposure and relief.

76. The same year, the Tiber, swollen with continual rains, overflowed the level parts of the city; when the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Hence Asinius Gallus moved, "that the Sibylline books might be consulted." Tiberius opposed it, equally smothering all inquiry into matters human or divine. To Ateius Capito, however, and Lucius Arruntius, was committed the care of restraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their public burdens, were for the present discharged of their proconsular government, and transferred to Tiberius.¹ In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, Drusus presided: it was exhibited in the name of his brother Germanicus, and his own; and at it he manifested too much delight in blood, though that of slaves: a feeling terrible to the populace, and for which even his father was said to have reproved him. The absence of Tiberius from these shows was variously construed: by some it was ascribed to his impatience of a crowd; by others to the austerity of his genius, and his fear of comparison with Augustus, who was wont to be a cheerful spectator. But, that he thus purposely furnished matter for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising him popular hate, is what I would not believe: though this too was asserted.

77. The riots connected with the theatre, begun last year, broke out now more violently: several, not of the people only, but of the soldiers, with a centurion, lost their lives; and a tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded whilst they were

¹ Augustus divided the Roman provinces between himself and the senate. Those which he retained in his own hands, were administered by governors of his own choice, called *imperial procurators*. The Senatorian provinces were governed by proconsuls, appointed for a year only.

securing the magistrates from insults, and restoring tranquillity among the rabble. This tumult was canvassed in the senate, and opinions were given that the prætors should be empowered to whip the players : Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the people, opposed it ; and was sharply rebuked by a speech of Asinius Gallus. Tiberius was silent, and to the senate allowed these mockeries of liberty. The opposition, however, prevailed, because the deified Augustus had formerly given his judgment, "that players were exempt from stripes : " nor would religion permit that Tiberius should annul his decisions. Concerning the limitation of the money laid out on theatrical exhibitions,¹ and to restrain the licentiousness of their partisans, many decrees were made : the most remarkable were, "that no senator should enter the houses of pantomimes ; that Roman knights should not attend them when they went into the street : they should exhibit nowhere but in the theatre ; and the prætors should have power to punish the excesses of the spectators with exile."

78. The Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to Augustus in the colony of Tarragon : and an example was held up for all the provinces to follow. In answer to the people, who prayed to be relieved from the "centesima," a tax of one in the hundred, established at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities ; Tiberius by an edict declared, "that upon this tax depended the fund for maintaining the army : " nor even thus was the commonwealth equal to the expense, if before their twentieth year the veterans were dismissed." Thus the ill-advised regulations, made during the late sedition, by which the limit of sixteen years was assigned to their service, in submission to force, were rescinded.

79. It was next proposed to the senate by Arruntius and Ateius, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, a new course should be given to the rivers and lakes

¹ The money laid out on plays and players was called *lucar*, because it arose from the annual produce of certain woods and groves (*luci*) in the neighbourhood of Rome.

² Augustus fixed the rate of the soldiers' pay throughout all the armies of the empire ; and, that a fund might be always ready for that purpose, he established a military exchequer, and certain taxes, which were to be paid into that office. See Suetonius, Life of Augustus, s. 49. Tiberius afterwards changed this tax to the two hundredth penny. Annals, book ii. s. 42.

by which it is swelled. Upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought, "that the bed of the Clanis might not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the same would prove their utter ruin." A similar objection was urged by the Interamnates; "since the most fruitful plains in Italy would be lost, if, according to the project, the Nar, branched out into rivulets, overflowed them." Nor did the Reatinians fail to remonstrate against stopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; "for," they said, "it would overflow the adjacent country: that nature had made the wisest provision for the interests of man: that she had assigned to rivers their proper mouths and courses, and as she had fixed their sources, so had she determined their exits. Regard, too, was to be paid to the religion of our Latin allies, who, esteeming the rivers of their country sacred, had to them dedicated priests, and altars, and groves: nay, the Tiber himself, bereft of the neighbouring streams, would refuse to flow with diminished majesty." Now, whether it were that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of superstition prevailed, it is certain the opinion of Piso was followed; namely, that nothing should be altered.

80. To Poppæus Sabinus was continued his province of Mœsia; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This, too, was part of the policy of Tiberius, to continue persons in offices, and for the most part to maintain them in the same military authority, or civil employments, to the end of their lives; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, "that from an impatience of recurring care, he was for making whatever he once resolved on, perpetual." Others, "that from the malignity of his nature he could not endure that many should reap the benefit of office." There are some who believe "that as he had a crafty, penetrating spirit, so he had an understanding ever irresolute and perplexed." Nor, indeed, did he seek men of preeminent virtue, while, on the other hand, he detested vice: from the best men he dreaded danger to himself, and disgrace to the public from the worst. This difficulty in deciding grew to such a pitch at last that he assigned provinces to some persons whom he had resolved never to suffer to quit the city.

81. Of the comitia for the creation of consuls, which took

place in the reign of Tiberius for the first time in this year, and in each successive year, I hardly dare affirm anything : so different are the accounts about it, found not only amongst historians, but even in his own speeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he described them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns ; so as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to describe them, he exhorted the candidates not to disturb the election by their intrigues, and promised, himself, to take care of their interests. His general practice was to declare, "that to him none had signified their pretensions, but those whose names he had delivered to the consuls ; others, too, might do the same, if they had confidence in their interest or merits." Sentiments, plausible in terms ; in substance, hollow and insidious : and the greater the semblance of liberty with which they were covered, the more remorseless the slavery in which they would issue.

BOOK II.

1. DURING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus, and Lucius Libo, the kingdoms and Roman provinces of the East were in a state of commotion. It began with the Parthians, who, having sought and accepted a king from Rome afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arsacidæ,¹ contemned him as a foreigner. This was Vonones, who had been given as an hostage to Augustus by Phraates ;² for Phraates, though he had repulsed the Roman generals and armies, had accumulated every mark of reverence on Augustus, and sent him, to bind their friendship, part of his offspring ; not so much through fear of us, as distrusting the allegiance of his countrymen.

¹ The Parthian kings were called Arsacidæ, from Arsaces, the founder of the monarchy, A. U. C. 493 ; before the Christian era 256. Orodes was the king in whose reign Crassus and eleven legions were massacred, A. U. C. 701.

² Phraates IV. was the son of Orodes. He defeated Mark Antony, and sixteen legions under his command, A. U. C. 718. Justin, lib. xlii. a. 5. Plutarch, Life of Antony.

2. After the death of Phraates and the succeeding kings, ambassadors from the chief men of Parthia arrived at Rome, to call home Vonones his eldest son, in order to end their intestine slaughters. Tiberius thought this a high honour to himself, and dismissed him with great pomp and presents. The Barbarians, too, received him with exultation, as is usual at the commencement of a reign. But shame soon succeeded: "For the degeneracy of the Parthians, who had thus fetched from another world a king tainted by the practices of their enemies, the imperial throne of the Arsacidæ," they said, "was now deemed and given as a Roman province. Where was the glory of those who slew Crassus, of those who expelled Mark Antony, if a slave of Cæsar's, who had endured bondage for so many years, should lord it over the Parthians?" He himself also inflamed their disdain, by abandoning the institutions of his ancestors, by rarely joining in the chace, by the sluggish interest he took in horses, and, whenever he made a progress through the cities, by riding in a litter, and by his haughty contempt of the national mode of banqueting: they also ridiculed his Greek attendants, and the most worthless articles of domestic use secured under a seal;¹ but his easiness of access, his unhesitating courtesy, virtues unknown to the Parthians, were to them new vices; and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad, were subject to equal hatred, because foreign from their own.

3. They, therefore, sent for Artabanus, of the blood of the Arsacidæ, bred amongst the Dahæ. In the first engagement he was routed, but repaired his forces and gained the kingdom. The vanquished Vonones found a retreat in Armenia, where was a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the powers of Parthia and of Rome; distrusting us by reason of the villany of Mark Antony, who having by professions of friendship inveigled into his power Artavasdes, king of the Armenians, then loaded him with chains, and at last put him

¹ Cf. "*Sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quæ lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne decerentur inanes aliquæ fuisse, quæ furtim essent exsiccata.*"—Cicero ad Familiares, lib. xiv. epist. 26. And also—

"*Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ.*"

Hor. lib. ii. epist. ii. 134.

The new-married man gave a seal to his bride, to show that he committed the house-affairs to her management.

to death. Artaxias, his son, for his father's sake hating us, defended himself and his kingdom by the forces of the Arsacidæ. Artaxias being slain through the perfidy of his kindred, Tigranes was by Augustus appointed king of the Armenians, and by Tiberius Nero put in possession of the kingdom. But neither was the reign of Tigranes lasting, nor that of his children, though, according to the custom of foreign nations, they took partners of the throne and marriage-bed from among themselves.¹ Artavasdes was next set over them, by the appointment of Augustus; but at great expense of Roman blood he was deposed.

4. At that juncture Caius Cæsar was chosen to settle affairs in Armenia: by him Ariobarzanes, by descent a Mede, distinguished for his graceful person and eminent endowments, was placed over the Armenians with their own consent. Ariobarzanes being killed by accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman named Erato, and having soon deposed her, unsettled, wavering, and rather without a master than possessed of liberty, they received the fugitive Vonones for their king. But when Artabanus menaced him, and he could expect little help from the Armenians, as, if he were protected by our forces, a war with the Parthians must be undertaken, Creticus Silanus, governor of Syria, invited him thither; but when he came, set a guard upon him, leaving him still the name and pomp of royalty. What attempts Vonones made to escape from this mockery, we will relate in its place.

5. Now Tiberius was not displeased with the occurrence of commotions in the East, since then he had a colour for separating Germanicus from the legions that were attached to him from habit; for setting him over strange provinces, and exposing him at once to casual perils, and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent the affections of the soldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much the more intent upon expediting a victory, weighed with himself the methods of bringing on battles, with all the disasters and successes which had befallen him in the war to this his third

¹ Intermarriages between brothers and sisters were allowed by the custom of Egypt, and the eastern nations. Cleopatra married her brother Ptolemy; and accordingly Cæsar, having ended the Alexandrian war, placed brother and sister on the throne of the country.

year. He remembered—"That the Germans were ever routed in a regular battle, and upon ground adapted to fighting; that they were benefited by woods and bogs, short summers, and early winters; that his own men suffered not so much from their wounds, as from the length of their marches, and the loss of the instruments of war. The Gauls were weary of furnishing horses; long and cumbersome was his train of baggage, easily surprised, and with difficulty defended; but if the country should be entered by sea, it would be easy for them to get possession of favourable ground, while the enemy would be unaware of their movement. Besides, the war would be earlier begun; the legions and provisions conveyed together; and the horsemen and horses brought with safety, through the mouths and channels of the rivers, into the heart of Germany."

6. To this object, therefore, he directed his efforts; whilst Publius Vitellius and Publius Cantius were sent to collect the tribute of the Gauls, Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina had the direction of building the fleet. A thousand vessels were thought sufficient, and quickly finished. Some were short, with narrow stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the easier to endure the shock of the waves; some had flat bottoms, that without damage they might run aground, several had helms at each end, that by suddenly turning the oars, they might work either way; many were furnished with decks, upon which the engines of war might be conveyed, and were fitted for carrying horses or provisions, convenient for sails, and swift with oars: the effective and formidable appearance of the fleet was heightened by the spirit of the troops. The Isle of Batavia, by reason of its easy landings, its convenience for receiving forces, and transporting them to the war, was appointed as the place of rendezvous. For the Rhine, flowing in one uninterrupted channel, or broken by small islands, is, at the commencement of Batavia, divided as it were into two rivers; one retaining its name and the violence of its course, where it flows by Germany, till it mixes with the ocean; the other washing the Gallic shore, with a broader and more gentle stream, is by the inhabitants called by another name—the Wahal—which it soon after changes for that of the river Meuse, by whose immense mouth it is discharged into the same ocean.

7. But while the ships were being brought up, Germanicus commanded Silius his lieutenant, with a flying band, to invade the Cattians; and he himself, upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged, led six legions thither: but the sudden rains prevented Silius from doing more than taking some small plunder, with the wife and daughter of Arpus, prince of the Cattians; nor did the besiegers stay to fight Germanicus, but upon the report of his approach stole off and dispersed; they had, however, thrown down the barrow lately raised to the Varian legions, and the old altar erected to Drusus. He restored the altar; and the prince himself, with the legions, performed a solemn procession to the honour of his father; but he did not think proper to raise a fresh barrow: all the space, too, between fort Aliso and the Rhine he secured with new barriers and ramparts.

8. And now the fleet had arrived; when, having sent the stores forward, and assigned ships to the legions and the allies, he entered the canal named after Drusus,¹ and prayed to his father, "to be propitious and favourable to him, and aid him in attempting the same enterprises, by the inspiration of his example, and the recollection of his counsels and achievements." Then he sailed prosperously through the lakes and the ocean, as far as the river Amisia. The fleet being left at Amisia, upon the left shore, (and it was a fault that it sailed no higher up,) he put the troops over by bridges, their destination being to the territories on the right; thus many days were consumed in making bridges. The horse and the legions crossed the æstuaries at the mouth of the river without confusion, as it was yet ebb; but the auxiliaries forming the rear, and among them the Batavians, while they play with the waves, and show their dexterity in swimming, were thrown into disorder, and some were drowned. Whilst Germanicus was encamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; thither he despatched a body of horse and light infantry, under Stertinius, who with fire and slaughter revenged their perfidy.

9. Between the Romans and the Cherusicans flowed the river Visurgis. On its bank stood Arminius, with the other

¹ The canal of Drusus, Brotier says, was between Iselsort and Doesbourg, from the Rhine to the river Sala, now the Issel.

chiefs, inquiring whether Germanicus was come; and being answered that he was there, he prayed leave to speak with his brother. This brother of his was in the army, his name Flavius, remarkable for his fidelity, and for the loss of an eye under Tiberius. Permission was then granted. Flavius advancing, was saluted by Arminius, who having removed his own attendants, requested that the archers, ranged upon our bank, might retire. When they were gone—"How came you," he asked his brother, "by that deformity in your face?" The brother having informed him where, and in what fight, he desired to know, "what reward he had received?" Flavius answered—"Increase of pay, the chain, the crown, and other military gifts;" which Arminius treated with derision, as the vile wages of servitude.

10. After that they began in different strains: Flavius urged "the Roman greatness; the power of Cæsar, the severe punishment inflicted on the vanquished; and the clemency vouchsafed to those who submitted; that neither the wife nor son of Arminius was treated as a captive." Arminius to this opposed "the claims of country, their hereditary liberty, the domestic gods of Germany; their mother, who joined in his prayer that he would not prefer the character of a deserter, and a betrayer of his kinsmen and connexions, in short, of his race, to that of their general." From this they gradually proceeded to invectives; nor would the interposition of the river have restrained them from an encounter, had not Stertinius, running to him, held back Flavius, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite side was seen Arminius, menacing furiously and proclaiming battle. For most of what he said in this dialogue was in Latin; having, as the general of his countrymen, served in the Roman camp.

11. Next day the German army stood in order of battle beyond the Visurgis. Germanicus, who thought it became not a general to endanger the legions in the passage without bridges and guards, made the horse ford over. They were led by Stertinius, and Æmilius one of the principal centurions, who entered the river at distant places to divide the attention of the foe. Cariovalda, captain of the Batavians, dashed through where the stream was most rapid, and was by the Cheruskans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain surrounded

with woods. Then starting up at once, and pouring upon him on every side, they overthrew those who resisted, and pressed after those who gave way, who at length, forming themselves into a circle, were assailed by some hand to hand, by others were annoyed with missiles. Cariovalda, having long sustained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to break through the assailing bands in a solid body; he himself charged into the thickest, and fell under a shower of darts, his horse also being killed, and many nobles fell around him; the rest were saved by their own bravery, or by the cavalry under Stertinius and Æmilius, which came up to their assistance.

12. Germanicus, having passed the Visurgis, learnt from a deserter that Arminius had marked out the place of battle, that more nations had also joined him at a wood sacred to Hercules, and would attempt to storm our camp by night. The deserter was believed, the enemy's fires were in view, and the scouts, having advanced towards them, reported that they heard the neighing of horses and the murmur of a mighty and tumultuous host. Being thus upon the eve of a decisive battle, Germanicus thought it behoved him to learn the sentiments of the soldiers, and deliberated with himself how to get at the truth,—“the reports of the tribunes and centurions were oftener agreeable than true, the freedmen had servile spirits, friends were apt to flatter; if an assembly were called, there, too, the counsel proposed by a few was carried by the clamorous plaudits of the rest. The minds of soldiers could then only be thoroughly known when by themselves, free from all restraint, and over their mess, they gave unreserved utterance to their hopes and fears.”

13. At nightfall, taking the path leading by the place of divination,¹ he went out with a single attendant, a deer-skin covering his shoulders,² and proceeding by a secret way where there were no sentinels, entered the avenues of the camp, stationed himself near the tents, and eagerly listened to what was said of himself, while one magnified the imperial birth of his general, another his graceful person, very many his firmness, condescension, and the evenness of his temper, whether

¹ In the camp a place was set apart for taking the auspices, on the right of the general's tent. See Smith's Dict. Ant., art. *Auspicium*.

² He assumed this disguise in order to appear like a German soldier.

seriously occupied or in moments of relaxation ; and they confessed that their sense of his merits should be shown in battle, protesting at the same time that those traitors and violators of peace should be made a sacrifice to vengeance and to fame. In the meantime, one of the enemy who understood Latin rode up to the palisades, and with a loud voice offered, in the name of Arminius, to every deserter a wife and land, and, as long as the war lasted, an hundred sesterces a day. This affront kindled the wrath of the legions,—“Let day come,” they cried, “battle should be given, the soldiers would themselves take the lands of the Germans, lead away wives by right of conquest ; they, however, welcomed the omen, and considered the wealth and women of the enemy their destined prey.” About the third watch¹ an attempt was made upon the camp, but not a dart was discharged, as they found the cohorts planted thick upon the works, and nothing neglected that was necessary for a vigorous defence.

14. Germanicus had the same night a cheering dream : he thought he sacrificed, and, in place of his own robe besmeared with the blood of the victim, received one fairer from the hands of his grandmother Augusta. Elated by the omen, and the auspices being favourable, he called an assembly, and laid before them what in his judgment seemed likely to be advantageous and suitable for the impending battle. He said, “that to the Roman soldiers not only plains, but, with due circumspection, even woods and forests were convenient : the huge targets, the enormous spears of the Barbarians, could never be wielded amongst trunks of trees and thickets of underwood, shooting up from the ground, like Roman swords and javelins, and armour sitting the body ; that they should reiterate their blows, and aim at the face with their swords ; the Germans had neither helmet nor coat of mail ; their bucklers were not even strengthened with leather, or iron, but mere contextures of twigs, and boards of no substance flourished over with paint ; their first rank was armed with pikes, in some sort, the rest had only stakes burnt at the end, or short darts : and now to come to their persons, as they were terrific to sight, and vigorous enough for a brief effort, so they were

¹ The Romans divided the night into four watches. Each watch was on duty three hours, and then relieved by the next in turn. The third watch began about the modern twelve at night

utterly impatient of wounds : unaffected with shame for misconduct, and destitute of respect for their generals, they would quit their posts, or run away before the enemy : cowards in adversity ; in prosperity despisers of all divine, of all human laws : if, weary of marches and sea voyages, they wished an end of these things, by this battle it was presented to them : the Elbe was now nearer than the Rhine ; there was nothing to subdue beyond this ; they had only to place him, crowned with victory, in the same country which had witnessed the triumphs of his father and uncle, in whose footsteps he was treading." The ardour of the soldiers was kindled by this speech of the general, and the signal for the onset was given.

15. Neither did Arminius, or the other chiefs, neglect solemnly to assure their several bands, that " these were Romans ; the most desperate fugitives of the Varian army, who, to avoid the hardships of war, had put on the character of rebels ; who, without any hope of success, were again braving the angry gods, and exposing to their exasperated foes, some of them, backs burthened with wounds, others, limbs enfeebled with the effects of storms and tempests. Their motive for having recourse to a fleet and the pathless regions of the ocean was, that no one might oppose them as they approached or pursue them when repulsed ; but when they engaged hand to hand, vain would be the help of winds and oars after a defeat : the Germans needed only remember their rapine, cruelty, and pride ; was any other course left them than to maintain their liberty, and if they could not do that, to die before they took a yoke upon them ?"

16. The enemy thus inflamed, and calling for battle, were led into a plain called Idistavisus : it lies between the Visurgis and the hills, and winds irregularly along, as it is encroached upon by the projecting bases of the mountains, or enlarged by the receding banks of the river : at their rear rose a majestic forest, the branches of the trees shooting up into the air, but the ground clear between their trunks : the army of Barbarians occupied the plain, and the entrances of the forest : the Cherusicans alone sat in ambush upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, when engaged in the fight. Our army marched thus ; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four legions, and then Germanicus with two prætorian cohorts,

and the choice of the cavalry ; then four legions more, and the light foot with the mounted archers, and the other cohorts of the allies ; the men were on the alert and in readiness, so that the order of march might form the order of battle when they halted.

17. As the bands of Cherusicans who had impatiently rushed forward were now perceived, Germanicus commanded the most efficient of his horse to charge them in the flank, and Stertinius with the rest to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promised to be ready to assist them at the proper moment. Meanwhile an omen of happiest import appeared ; eight eagles, seen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it, caught the eye of the general : " Advance !" he cried, " follow the Roman birds ; follow the tutelar deities of the legions !" At once the foot charged, and the cavalry sent forward attacked their flank and rear : and strange to relate, the two divisions of their army fled opposite ways ; that in the woods ran to the plain, that in the plain rushed into the woods. The Cherusicans between both, were driven from the hills ; amongst them Arminius formed a conspicuous object, while with his hand, his voice, and the exhibition of his wounds, he strove to sustain the fight : he had vigorously assaulted the archers, and would have broken through them, had not the cohorts of the Rhætians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, advanced to oppose him : however, by his own personal effort, and the impetus of his horse, he made good his passage ; his face besmeared with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related that the Chaucians, who were amongst the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go : the same bravery or stratagem procured Inguiomer his escape : the rest were slain on all hands ; great numbers attempting to swim the Visurgis, perished either by the darts showered after them, or the violence of the current ; or if they escaped these, they were overwhelmed by the weight of the rushing crowd, and the banks which fell upon them : some, seeking an ignominious refuge, climbed to the tops of trees, and concealing themselves amongst the branches, were shot in sport by the archers, who were brought up for the purpose ; others were dashed against the ground as the trees were felled. This was a great victory, and withal achieved without loss on our side.

18. This slaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour¹ of the day till night, filled the country for ten miles with carcases and arms. Amongst the spoils, chains were found, which, sure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The soldiers saluted Tiberius as "Imperator"² upon the field of battle, and, raising a mount, placed upon it, after the manner of trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquished nations inscribed below.

19. This sight filled the Germans with more anguish and rage than all their wounds, afflictions, and overthrows. They, who were just now prepared to abandon their dwellings, and retire beyond the Elbe, meditate war and grasp their arms; people, nobles, youth, aged, all rush suddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and disorder it. Lastly, they chose a position shut in by a river and a forest, the inner space being a confined and humid plain; the forest, too, surrounded with a deep marsh, except that the Angrivarii had elevated one side by erecting a broad mound to part them and the Cheruskans. Here their foot were posted: their horse were concealed amongst the neighbouring groves, that they might be on the rear of the legions when they had entered the wood.

20. Nothing of all this was a secret to Germanicus. He knew their counsels, their stations; their overt movements and their concealed measures; and turned their subtlety to the destruction of themselves. To Seius Tubero, his lieutenant, he committed the horse and the plain; the infantry he so formed, that part might pass the level approaches into the wood, and the rest force their way up the rampart: whatever was arduous he reserved to himself, the rest he committed to

¹ It appears, in section 23 of this book, that the battle was fought in July, or the beginning of August, *adultæ jam æstate*. If so, the fifth hour nearly agrees with our nine in the morning.

² In the time of the republic, the title of Imperator was given by the soldiers in the field of battle to the commander-in-chief. The custom ceased under Augustus, who annexed the title to the imperial dignity, the prince being then generalissimo of all the armies of the empire. The name of Imperator, it is true, was afterwards given to the general who gained a victory; but that was not done without the special permission of the prince. The same rule was observed under the following emperors; and accordingly we find that Tiberius was saluted Imperator; but the soldiers did not presume to do that honour to Germanicus.

his lieutenants. Those who had the even ground to traverse, easily forced an entrance; but they who were to storm the rampart were battered from above, as if they had been assaulting a wall. The general perceived the inequality of this close encounter, and drawing off the legions a small distance, ordered the slingers and engineers to discharge their missiles, and dislodge the enemy: immediately darts were poured from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more conspicuous they were, with the more wounds were beaten down. Germanicus, having taken the rampart, first forced his way at the head of the prætorian cohorts into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot: behind the enemy was the morass, behind the Romans the mountains or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour, no safety but in victory.

21. The Germans were not inferior in courage, but in the mode of fighting and the nature of their arms; as their vast numbers, hampered in narrow places, could not push forward nor recover their immense spears; nor practise their usual assaults and rapid motions, being compelled by their crowded condition to adopt a stationary mode of fight. On the contrary, our soldiers, with shields fitted to their breasts, and their hands firmly grasping their sword-hilts, could gash the brawny limbs and naked faces of the Barbarians, and open themselves a way with havoc of the enemy. Besides, the activity of Arminius now failed him; either exhausted by a succession of disasters, or disabled by his recent wound. Nay, Inguiomer, too, who flew from place to place throughout the battle, was abandoned by fortune rather than courage. Germanicus, to be the easier known, pulled off his helmet, and exhorted his men "to prosecute the slaughter; they wanted no captives," he said, "the extermination of the people alone would put an end to the war." 'It was now late in the day, and he drew off a legion to pitch a camp; the rest glutted themselves till night with the blood of the foe: the horse fought with doubtful success.

22. Germanicus, having in a public harangue praised his victorious troops, raised a pile of arms, with this proud inscription: "That the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, had consecrated these memorials to Mars to Jupiter, and to Augustus."

Of himself he made no mention; either fearful of provoking envy, or that he felt satisfied with the consciousness of his own merit. He next charged Stertinius with the war amongst the Angrivarians; and he would have proceeded, had they not made haste to submit; approaching as supplicants, and making a full confession of their guilt, they received pardon without reserve.

23. The summer being now far advanced, some of the legions were sent back into winter-quarters by land; the greater part Cæsar put on board the fleet, and conveyed them along the Amisia to the ocean. The sea, at first serene, resounded only with the oars of a thousand ships, or their impulse when under sail; but presently a shower of hail poured down from a black mass of clouds; at the same time, storms raging on all sides in every variety, the billows rolling, now here, now there, obstructed the view, and made it impossible to manage the ships: the soldiers, too, unaccustomed to the perils of the sea, while in their alarm they embarrassed the mariners, or helped them awkwardly, rendered unavailing the services of the skilful. After this the whole expanse of air and sea was swept by a south-west wind; which, deriving strength from the mountainous regions of Germany, its deep rivers, and boundless tract of clouded atmosphere, and rendered still harsher by the rigour of the neighbouring north, tore away the ships, scattered and drove them into the open ocean, or upon islands dangerous from precipitous rocks or the hidden sand-banks which beset them. Having got a little clear of these, but with great difficulty, the tide turning and flowing in the same direction as that in which the wind blew, they were unable to ride at anchor, or bale out the water that broke in upon them; horses, beasts of burthen, baggage, even arms, were thrown overboard, to lighten the holds of the vessels, which took in water at their sides, and from the waves too running over them.

24. By how much the ocean is more stormy than other seas, and Germany exceeds other countries in the rigour of its climate, by so much this disaster surpassed in point of magnitude, and the peculiarity of its circumstances. Around them were either shores inhabited by enemies, or a sea so vast and unfathomable as to be supposed the limit of the world, and unbounded by lands. Part of the fleet were

swallowed up; many were driven upon remote islands, where, without a trace of civilized humanity, the men perished through famine, or were kept alive by the carcasses of horses that were dashed upon the same shore. The galley of Germanicus alone reached the coast of the Chaucians,¹ where, during the whole period of his stay, both day and night, amid the rocks and prominences of the shore, he reproached himself as the author of such overwhelming destruction, and was hardly restrained by his friends from destroying himself in the same sea. At last, with the returning tide, and favouring gale, the shattered ships returned, almost all destitute of oars, or with garments spread for sails; and some towed by those which were less disabled. He repaired them hastily, and despatched them to search the islands; by this diligence the greater part were gleaned up; many were, by the Angrivarians, our new subjects, redeemed from their more inland neighbours and restored; and some, driven into Great Britain, were sent back by the petty kings. Each according to the remoteness of the regions he had returned from, recounted the wonders he had witnessed: "The impetuosity of whirlwinds; strange birds; sea-monsters of ambiguous forms between man and beast;" things either seen, or fancied from the effects of fear.

25. Intelligence of this wreck animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war; which Germanicus perceiving, he resolved to check them. He commanded Caius Silius, with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, to march into the country of the Cattians; he himself with a greater force invaded the Marsians, where he learnt from Malovendus, their general, lately taken into our subjection, that the eagle of one of Varus's legions was hid underground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a slender guard. Instantly two parties were despatched; one to face the enemy and draw them from their post, the other to march round upon their rear and open the ground: success attended both. Hence Germanicus advanced towards the interior with greater alacrity, laid waste the country, and destroyed the effects of the foe, either not daring to engage, or, wherever they engaged, instantly defeated; nor, as was learnt from the prisoners, were they ever more dismayed: "The Romans," they exclaimed, "are invincible;

¹ The mouth of the Visurgis, or the Weser.

no calamities can subdue them ; they have wrecked their fleet, their arms are lost, our shores are covered with the bodies of their horses and men ; and yet they have invaded us with their usual spirit, with the same firmness, and as if their numbers were increased."

26. The army was thence led back into winter-quarters, full of joy to have balanced, by this prosperous expedition, their misfortune at sea ; and by the bounty of Germanicus their joy was heightened, since to each sufferer he paid as much as each declared he had lost ; neither was it doubted but the enemy were tottering, and concerting measures for obtaining peace, and that the next summer would terminate the war. But Tiberius, by frequent letters, pressed him " to come home to the triumph decreed him ; urged that he had experienced enough of events and casualties ; he had indeed fought great and successful battles ; but he must likewise remember his losses and calamities, which, however owing to wind and waves, and no fault of the general, were yet great and grievous. He himself had been sent nine times into Germany by Augustus, and effected much more by policy than arms ; it was thus he had brought the Sygambrians¹ into subjection, thus the Suevians, thus king Maroboduus² had been obliged to submit to

¹ The Sicambri dwelt between the river Luppia (now the Lippe) and the Cattians, who inhabited the territory of Hesse. Being conquered by Tiberius, in the reign of Augustus, they were transplanted to the Gallic side of the Rhine. We find them mentioned by Horace :—

"Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis."—Carm. lib. iv. ode 14.

² Maroboduus, born among the Marcomanni, went early to Rome, where he was distinguished by Augustus. Endowed with great natural talents, he returned to his own country with an understanding above the level of Barbarians. The Marcomanni at that time inhabited an extensive territory in the district now called Wirtemberg, and in part of Suabia. He saw the Romans encroaching every day in the Lower Germany ; and the progress of their arms he thought would, in a little time, reduce him to the condition of a sceptred slave. He removed from that dangerous neighbourhood to the Hercynian forest, and, having expelled the Boians from the country called Boiohemum, established his kingdom in that region. He extended his new dominions towards the south, and, by consequence, approached to the vicinity of the Romans. Tiberius was sent by Augustus (A. U. C. 759) to check the progress of the German king, who must have been crushed by the army employed against him, if a sudden revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia had not caused a suspension of hostilities. Whether that insurrection

terms. The Cherusicans, too, and the other hostile nations, now the Roman honour was vindicated, might be left to pursue their own intestine feuds." Germanicus besought one year to accomplish his conquest; but Tiberius assailed his modesty with fresh importunity, by offering him another consulship, the duties of which would require his presence; he added, "That if the war was still to be prosecuted, he should leave materials for the fame of his brother Drusus, who, as there then remained no other enemy, could acquire the title of Emperor, and earn the privilege of presenting the laurel, in Germany alone." Germanicus persisted no longer; though he knew that this was all hypocrisy, and that through envy he was torn away from a harvest of ripe glory.

27. About this time, Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian family, was charged with attempts against the state; and, because then first were devised those arts which for so many years preyed upon the commonweal, I will lay open with the more exactness, the beginning, progress, and issue of this affair. Firmius Catus, the senator, availing himself of an intimate friendship with Libo, induced that youth, unwary as he was, and open to impositions, to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the mysteries of magicians, and even the interpreters of dreams; perpetually suggesting to him that "Pompey was his great-grandfather, Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, his aunt, the Cæsars¹ his kinsmen; and his house crowded with images:" tempting him to luxury and debt; sharing in his excesses and his obligations, in order to ensure his conviction by multiplying the evidences of his guilt.

28. When he found he had witnesses enough, and some slaves, who were also privy to Libo's conduct, he sought access to the emperor, having first by Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman knight, more intimate with Tiberius, represented to him the person he accused and the charge. Tiberius slighted not his information, but denied him access, "For that communications," he said, "might be still interchanged through the was effected by the intriguing genius of Maroboduus, cannot now be known. He offered terms of accommodation, and the politic Tiberius concluded a treaty of peace. From that time Maroboduus courted the alliance of Rome, and, by consequence, drew on himself the hatred of the German nations.

¹ Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the Cæsarean family.

medium of Flaccus." In the meantime, he preferred Libo to the prætorship, entertained him at his table, showed no signs of aversion in his countenance, no resentment in his words (so deeply had he smothered his vengeance), and when he might have restrained all the speeches and practices of Libo, he preferred to know them; till one Junius, who was solicited to raise ghosts, gave information to Fulcinus Trio, who was distinguished for his talents as an accuser above others of that fraternity, and had an appetite for infamous notoriety.¹ Instantly Trio seized upon the accused, went before the consuls, and demanded that the senate should take cognizance of the charge; and the fathers were summoned, with special intimation, that "they were to deliberate on an affair of magnitude and the most serious importance."

29. Libo meanwhile putting on mourning,¹ went from house to house, accompanied by ladies of the highest rank, supplicated his kindred, and solicited their voices to avert the dangers which threatened him. But every one of them declined his suit, each upon a different pretence, but, in reality, all from the same fear. The day the senate sat, worn out with fear and disease, or, as some relate, feigning it, he was borne in a litter to the doors of the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with suppliant hands and words he addressed himself to Tiberius, who received him with unmoved countenance. The emperor next recited the articles against him, and named the accusers; so restraining himself as to appear neither to extenuate nor aggravate the force of the charges.

30. To Trio and Catus, two other accusers, Fonteius Agrippa and Caius Vibius joined themselves, and strove who should have the right to implead the accused; at last, when no one would yield to the other, and Libo was come unprovided with a pleader, Vibius undertook to state the several heads of the charge, and produced articles so extravagant, that they represented Libo as having consulted the fortune-tellers, "Whether he should ever have wealth enough to cover the Appian road with money as far as Brundisium." There were others of the same kind, foolish, chimerical, or (to apply a milder term to them) pitiful; but in one document the accuser urged that to the names of the Cæsars or senators were appended

¹ The accused always appeared in a mourning habit, in order to excite compassion.

characters of deadly or mysterious import, written in the hand of Libo. Libo denied it, and hence it was resolved to examine by torture his conscious slaves; but seeing it was prohibited by an ancient decree of the senate, to put servants to the question in a trial touching the life of their master, the crafty Tiberius invented a new law¹ to elude the old, and ordered these slaves to be severally sold to the public steward, that by this expedient, evidence against Libo might be obtained from his servants, without violating the decree. Upon this, Libo prayed an adjournment till the next day, and returning to his own house, transmitted, by his kinsman, Publius Quirinius, his prayers to the emperor, his last resort; but he replied, that "he must make his request to the senate."

31. His house was in the meantime encompassed with a band of soldiers. They made a rout even in the vestibule on purpose to be seen and heard; when Libo, thus tortured at the very banquet which he had prepared as the last gratification of his life, called for a minister of death, grasped the hands of his slaves and put a sword into them; but they in their confusion and efforts to shun the task, overturned the lamp set on the table; and in this darkness, now to him the shades of death, he gave himself two stabs in the bowels; as he groaned and fell, his freedmen sprang in, and the soldiers seeing that he was slain, retired. The charge against him, however, was gone through with in the senate, with the same formality; and Tiberius vowed "that he would have interceded for his life, though convicted, if he had not thus hastily died by his own hands."

32. His estate was divided amongst his accusers; and those of them who bore the rank of senators were, without the

¹ Dio Cassius says, that Augustus was the author of this subtle device; but, as he does not tell upon what occasion, it is reasonable to suppose that Tacitus was better informed. We learn from Cicero, that the old law, which repelled the slave from being a witness against his master, made the case of incest an exception to the general rule. "*De servis nulla quæstio est in dominum nisi incestu, ut fuit in Clodium.*" (Cicero, pro Milone.) By the Roman law, a freeman could not be put to the torture. For that reason, the party accused, in order to suppress the truth, took care, in time, to give the slaves their freedom. To prevent that evasion of public justice in the case of adultery, Augustus provided by the *Lex Julia*, that the slaves of the wife accused, of adultery should not be manumitted before the expiration of sixty days, during which time they were liable to be put to the torture.

ceremony of an election, preferred to prætorships. Then Cotta Messalinus moved, "That the image of Libo might not accompany the funerals of his posterity;" Cneius Lentulus, "That none of the Scribonii should assume the surname of Drusus." On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of thanksgiving were appointed: "That gifts should be presented to Jupiter, to Mars, and to the goddess Concord; and that the thirteenth of September, the day on which Libo slew himself, should be an established festival," were the votes of L. Publius and Asinius Gallus, of Papius Mutilus and of Lucius Apronius. I have related the suggestions and sycophancy of these men, to show that this is an inveterate evil in the state. Decrees of the senate were likewise made for expelling astrologers and magicians¹ out of Italy; and one of them, Lucius Pituanus, was precipitated from the Tarpeian rock: on Publius Marcius, the consuls, at the sound of trumpet, inflicted punishment without the Esquiline gate, according to the ancient form.

33. Next time the senate sat, much was said against the luxury of the city by Quintus Haterius, a man of consular rank, and by Octavius Fronto, formerly prætor; and a law was passed, "Against using vessels of solid gold in serving up repasts, and against men disgracing themselves with silken garments."² Fronto went beyond this proposition, and submitted "That the quantities of silver plate, the expense of furniture, and the number of domestics might be limited." For it was yet common for senators, instead of speaking to the question, to offer whatever they judged conducive to the interest of the commonweal. Against him it was argued by Asinius Gallus, "That with the growth of the empire private riches had also increased, and that it was no new thing, but agreeable to the most primitive usage; that the measure of private wealth in the time of the Fabricii was different from that in the time of the Scipios, but both proportioned to the condition of the state. If the state was poor, the establishments of citizens were on a small scale; but when the state

¹ The Chaldean magicians, and the professors of judicial astrology, willing to be deemed men of real science, called themselves mathematicians; and that name frequently occurs in Tacitus. The decree made on this occasion was not a new regulation, but a revival of ancient laws.

² It is disputed whether cotton or silk is here intended: probably silk.

rose to such a height of magnificence, individuals advanced in splendour; that neither in domestics, plate, or necessary expense, was there any standard of excess or frugality, but from the means of the owner. A distinction was made between the fortunes of senators¹ and of knights, not for any natural difference between them, but that they who excelled in place, rank, and honours, might excel, too, in other things, such as conduced to the health of the body, or to the relaxation of the mind; unless it were expected that the most illustrious citizens should sustain more than their share of cares, and expose themselves to greater dangers than others, but continue destitute of every solace of fatigue and danger." His veiling a confession of vices under spurious appellations, and the kindred spirit of his hearers, gained for Gallus a ready assent. Tiberius closed the discussion with the remark, "That that was not the time for correcting these matters;² but if there were any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to advise a reformation."

34. During these transactions, Lucius Piso, after inveighing against "the intrigues of the forum, the corruption of the tribunals, and the brutal proceedings of informers, who filled the city with alarm by threats of impeachment," declared "he would retire and abandon Rome, and live in some secluded and remote part of the country." With these words he left the senate. Tiberius was stung by these remarks; and, though he had soothed him with gentle words, he also urged Piso's relations, by their authority or entreaties, to prevent his departure. The same Piso gave, soon after, no less remarkable a proof of earnest independence, by prosecuting a suit against Urgulania—a lady whom the partial friendship of Livia had set above the laws. Urgulania was conveyed for shelter to the palace, and in defiance of Piso disobeyed the summons; but Piso persisted, although Augusta complained that she was herself insulted and degraded by this proceeding. Tiberius, who thought he might humour his

¹ The qualification of a Roman knight was four hundred thousand sesterces; that of a senator, in the time of the republic, eight hundred thousand, and under the emperors, twelve hundred thousand. Suet. in Aug. s. 41.

² The censor exercised his authority in the course of every fifth year. See what Tiberius says on the subject of luxury, book iii. s. 53 and 54.

mother thus far, without violating the laws of civil equality, promised to attend the trial, and assist Urgulania; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance. As the people flocked about him, he appeared perfectly composed, walking leisurely along, and prolonging the time by conversations on incidental topics; till, at length, Piso's friends failing in their efforts to restrain him, the empress ordered the payment of the money claimed by him. This was the issue of the affair; by which Piso lost no renown, and the credit of Tiberius was increased. The power, however, of Urgulania was so much too great for a state of civil equality, that she disdained to appear a witness in a certain cause which depended before the senate, and a prætor was sent to examine her at her own house; whereas it had been always usual even for the vestal virgins to attend the forum and courts of justice, as oft as their evidence was required.

35. The postponement of public affairs which happened this year, I should not mention, but that the different opinions of Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus about it are worth knowing. Piso declared his opinion, that although Tiberius had said "that he should be absent," "for that very reason the prosecution of public business was the rather to be continued; and that for the senate and equestrian order to be able to discharge their functions in the absence of the prince, would redound to the honour of the commonwealth." As Piso had anticipated him in this display of liberal principles, Gallus said, "That nothing truly great, nor suiting the dignity of the Roman people, could be transacted except under the immediate eye of the emperor; and therefore the mass of business which came to Rome from all parts of Italy, and the influx of affairs from the provinces, should be reserved for his presence." Tiberius heard and was silent, while the debate was managed on both sides with great vehemence; but the postponement was carried.

36. A debate, too, arose between Gallus and the emperor; for Gallus moved, "That the magistrates should be henceforth elected but once every five years; that the lieutenant-generals of legions, who served in that capacity before they had been prætors, should be prætors-elect; and that the prince should nominate twelve candidates every year." It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim; and that by

it the secret resources of imperial power were invaded. But Tiberius, as if his power would be augmented by it, argued, "That it would be inconsistent with his moderation to choose and to postpone so many; that disgusts could scarcely be avoided even in yearly elections, where the hope of success on a speedily occurring occasion, formed a solace for disappointment: how great must be the resentment of those whose pretensions were put off for five years! and whence could it be foreseen that, in so long a tract of time, the same men would continue to have the same sentiments, the same connexions and fortune? Even an annual designation to power made men imperious; how much more so if they bore the honour for five years! The influence of magistrates would at once be multiplied fivefold; the laws which had prescribed a proper space for exercising the diligence of candidates, and for soliciting as well as enjoying honours, would be subverted."

37. By this speech, in appearance popular, he prevented encroachments on the imperial power. He likewise sustained by gratuities the dignity of certain senators; hence it was the more wondered, that he received somewhat superciliously the petition of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of high family and unquestionable poverty. He was the grandson of Hortensius¹ the orator; and had been induced by the deified Augustus, who presented him with a thousand great sesterces, to marry and have children, to prevent the extinction of a family of the highest renown. The senate were sitting in the palace, and Hortalus, having set his four children before the door, fixed his eyes, now upon the statue of Hortensius, placed amongst the orators, then upon that of Augustus; and, instead of speaking to the question, began on this wise:—"Conscript fathers, I have not incurred the expense of bringing up these children, whose number and tender years you perceive, by my own choice, but in compliance with the advice of the prince. At the same time, the achievements of my ancestors demanded that their line should be perpetuated."

¹ Hortensius, the great orator, and rival of Cicero, is said by the elder Pliny to have been a man of unbounded expense. He gave an enormous sum for a set of pictures of the Argonautic expedition, and placed them in a superb gallery, which he built for the purpose, at his country house. Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 11. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that his descendants were left in a state of indigence.

As for myself, since by the revolution of the times I could not raise wealth, nor engage popular favour, nor cultivate the hereditary fortune of our house,—the fortune of eloquence,—I deemed it sufficient if, in my slender circumstances, I lived no disgrace to myself, no burden to others. Commanded by the emperor, I took a wife: behold the offspring of so many consuls—behold the descendants of so many dictators! Nor is this recital made invidiously, but to excite commiseration. If you, *Cæsar*, continue to flourish, they shall attain to such honours as you may bestow; meanwhile, protect from want the great-grandsons of *Hortensius*, the foster-children of *Augustus*."

38. The inclination of the senate was favourable; an incitement this to *Tiberius* the more eagerly to thwart *Hortalus*. These were in effect his words—"If all that are poor come hither and ask for provision for their children, while it will be impossible to satisfy the cravings of individuals, the public funds must fail. Our ancestors did not permit an occasional departure from the question, and the proposal of something more important to the state, instead of speaking to the subject, that we might here transact domestic matters, and augment our private resources; thus bringing odium both on the senate and the prince, whether they grant or deny the bounties petitioned. In truth it is not a petition, but an unreasonable and monstrous importunity, thus while you are assembled upon other affairs, to rise up and seek to move the senate from their propriety by the number and infancy of his children, to transfer the violent attack to me, and as it were break open the treasury, which, if we shall exhaust by largess, we must replenish by crime. The deified *Augustus* gave you money, *Hortalus*, but without solicitation, and on no condition that it should always be given; otherwise diligence will languish, sloth will prevail, if men have nothing to hope or fear for themselves; and all will look securely for the assistance of others, useless to themselves, and a burden to us." These and similar reflections of *Tiberius*, though they were heard with approbation by those whose practice it is to extol whatever proceeds from princes, worthy or unworthy, were received by the majority in silence, or with low murmurs. *Tiberius* perceived it; and having paused a little, said—"His answer was directed particularly to *Hor-*

talus; but if the senate thought fit, he would give his sons two hundred great sesterces each." The others returned thanks; but Hortalus said nothing, either from perturbation, or that amidst the embarrassments of adversity he remembered the dignity of his noble ancestry: nor did Tiberius ever after show pity, though the house of Hortensius was fallen into shameful distress.

39. The same year, the boldness of a single slave had, but for early prevention, torn the state with discord and intestine war. A slave of Posthumus Agrippa, named Clemens, with a spirit that soared high above his condition, having learnt the death of Augustus, conceived a design of sailing to Phanasia, and seizing Agrippa, by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany; but the slowness of the laden vessel defeated his bold purpose, for Agrippa was already murdered. Hence he formed a purpose still more daring and perilous; he stole the funeral ashes, and sailing to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himself in secluded places till his hair and beard were grown long; for in age and person he was not unlike his master. Then a report, originated by chosen emissaries and the associates of his plot, "that Agrippa lived," began to spread; at first by secret communications, as usual in matters of a dangerous nature; but becoming soon a prevailing rumour, it filled the greedy ears of all the most credulous, or was encouraged by persons of a turbulent disposition, and therefore desirous of political convulsions. He himself, when he entered the neighbouring towns, did it at shut of day; never to be seen publicly, nor long in the same place; but as truth is strengthened by observation and time, pretences by haste and uncertainty, he either departed as soon as his arrival began to be rumoured, or arrived before it.

40. It flew through Italy in the meantime,—“That by the bounty of the gods, Agrippa was preserved.” It was already believed at Rome. On his arrival at Ostia he was greeted by an immense concourse, and in the city by clandestine meetings. Tiberius was bewildered with perplexing doubts, whether he should repress his slave by the power of the sword, or suffer the unfounded persuasion of the public to vanish by the unaided operation of time; now he thought that nothing was to be slighted; now, that not everything was to be dreaded; wavering between shame and fear: at last he

committed the affair to Sallustius Crispus. Crispus chose two of his clients (some say two soldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign conviction of his identity, to present him with money, to promise to be faithful to him and hazard everything for him. They executed these orders, and afterwards discovering that at night he was without guards, they took a band of men chosen for the purpose, and carried him to the palace, gagged and bound. To Tiberius, when he asked him—"How he was become Agrippa?" he is said to have answered—"Just as you became Cæsar." He could not be induced to discover his accomplices; neither dared Tiberius venture to execute him publicly, but ordered him to be despatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be carried away privately; and, though many of the prince's household, many knights and senators, were said to have supported him with money, and assisted him with their counsels, no inquiry followed.

41. At the end of the year, a triumphal arch was raised near the temple of Saturn, in commemoration of the recovery of the eagles lost with Varus, under the conduct of Germanicus, and under the auspices of Tiberius. A temple was dedicated to Fortune near the Tiber, in the gardens bequeathed to the Roman people by Cæsar the dictator. A chapel was consecrated to the Julian family, and statues to the deified Augustus, at Bovillæ. In the consulship of Caius Cælius and Lucius Pomponius, on the seventh day before the calends of June, Germanicus Cæsar triumphed over the Cherusians, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elbe. In the triumph were carried all the spoils and captives, with representations of the mountains, rivers, and battles; the war, because he was restrained from finishing it, was held as finished. His own singularly fine person, and his chariot filled with his five children,¹ heightened the admiration of the beholders; but within were secret apprehensions when they reflected—"That popular favour had proved calamitous to his father, Drusus; that his uncle, Marcel-

¹ The five children of Germanicus were, Nero and Drusus, whom we shall see cruelly murdered by Tiberius; Caligula, who was afterwards emperor; Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero; and Drusilla. Julia, his last child, was born afterwards in the isle of Lesbos. This

lus,¹ was snatched in his youth from the ardent affections of the populace; and that ever short-lived and unfortunate were the favourites of the Roman people."

42. However, Tiberius distributed to the people in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces a man, and named himself his colleague in his consulship. But not even thus gaining credit for sincere affection, on pretence of investing the young prince with fresh honours, he resolved to remove him from Rome; and to accomplish it, craftily framed an occasion, or availed himself of such as chance presented. Archelaus, who had enjoyed the kingdom of Cappadocia now, fifty years, had incurred the displeasure of Tiberius, because, during his residence at Rhodes, the king had not paid his respects to him; an omission this which proceeded not from disdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidants of Augustus; for Caius Cæsar, then in his bloom, being sent to compose the affairs of the East, the friendship of Tiberius was reckoned impolitic; but when on the overthrow of the family of the Cæsars he had gained the empire, he enticed Archelaus to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, not concealing that her son was offended, held out hopes of pardon if he came and implored it; either in ignorance of the snare, or dreading violence if he appeared to perceive it, he hastened to the city. He was received by Tiberius with great sternness, and soon after accused before the senate, when, not on account of the crimes alleged against him, which were mere fictions, but from distress of mind, together with the infirmities of age, and because ordinary treatment is not suited to the habits of kings, much less the deepest humiliation, he finished his mortal career, either by his own act, or in the course of nature. His kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues Tiberius declaring that the tax of the hundredth penny might be abated, reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the same time Antiochus, king of Commagena, and Philopator, king of Cilicia, dying, great commotions shook these nations; whilst some desired the Roman, and others a kingly government. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, oppressed with impositions, prayed an abatement of tribute.

¹ The young Marcellus, who was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Alluded to in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 869 sqq.

43. These affairs, and such as I have above related concerning Armenia, Tiberius represented to the fathers, and "That the commotions of the East could only be settled by the wisdom of Germanicus; for himself, he was now declining in years, while Drusus was not yet at maturity." The provinces beyond the sea¹ were then decreed to Germanicus, with authority wherever he went, superior to those who obtained provinces by lot, or the will of the prince. But Tiberius had removed from Syria Creticus Silanus, who was united to Germanicus by affinity, the daughter of Silanus being betrothed to Nero, the oldest of his children, and set over it Cneius Piso, a man of violent and unyielding temper, inheriting the turbulent spirit of his father Piso, who, in the civil war, assisted the reviving party against Cæsar in Africa with vehement efforts, then followed Brutus and Cassius; and being permitted to come home he sought not any public offices; but afterwards, being importuned to accept a consulship offered him by Augustus, he yielded. Besides his hereditary impetuosity, the nobility and wealth of Plancina,² his wife, ministered fuel to his ambition; yielding to Tiberius, he despised as men far beneath him the sons of Tiberius; neither did he doubt but he was set over Syria on purpose to defeat the views of Germanicus. Some believed that he had secret orders from Tiberius; certain it was that Livia, in the spirit of female rivalry, prompted Plancina to persecute Agrippina. For the whole court was rent, and their affections secretly divided between Drusus and Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Drusus, as his own son by generation; others loved Germanicus, the more for the aversion of his uncle, and for being by his mother³ of more illustrious descent, as he could boast of Mark Antony his grandfather, and Augustus his great-uncle. On the other side, Pomponius Atticus,⁴ the great-

¹ Asia, Egypt, and the provinces in Africa.

² Plancina was the granddaughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus, a man distinguished in the history of the triumvirate. In the reign of Augustus, he commanded in Gaul, and, for some petty exploits, obtained a triumph. He founded the city of Lyons.

³ Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia the sister of Augustus, was the mother of Germanicus; consequently Augustus was great-uncle to Germanicus, and Mark Antony was his grandfather.

⁴ Atticus is well known by Cicero's Epistles. Pomponia, his granddaughter, was the first wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipsania Agrippina.

grandfather of Drusus, being but a Roman knight, seemed to bring a stain upon the images of the Claudian house; besides, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, in fruitfulness and reputation far excelled Livia,¹ the wife of Drusus; but the brothers were patterns of unanimity, and could not be moved by the contentions amongst their adherents.

44. Drusus was soon after sent into Illyricum, to inure him to war, and gain the affections of the army; besides, Tiberius thought that the youth who grew wanton amid the luxuries of Rome would be reformed in the camp, and that it would be safer for himself that both his sons should be at the head of legions. But the pretence for sending him was the protection of the Suevians, who implored assistance against the Cherusicans. For on the departure of the Romans, those nations, being now free from foreign alarms by the force of national habit, and at that time also from rivalry in the career of fame, had turned their swords upon each other. The two people were equally powerful, their leaders equally brave, but the title of king had brought the aversion of his countrymen upon Maroboduus, whilst Arminius, as the champion of liberty, was the object of affection.

45. Hence, not only the Cherusicans and their allies, the ancient soldiers of Arminius, took arms, but the Semuones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even subjects of Maroboduus, came over to him, and by their accession he would have had the advantage, but Inguiomer with his band of followers deserted to Maroboduus, for no other cause than disdain that the veteran uncle should obey his youthful nephew. Both armies were drawn out with equal hopes, and fought, not as usual with the Germans, in scattered parties and desultory attacks, for in the long war with us they had learnt to follow their standards, to form reserves to support their line, and to obey the orders of their generals. On this occasion Arminius inspected the whole array on horseback, and, as he approached the several bands, he brought before their view "their liberty recovered, the slaughtered legions, and the spoils and arms wrested from the Romans still in the

pina, whom Tiberius married, and divorced by order of Augustus. Drusus, whom Tiberius acknowledged as his son, was the issue of that marriage.

¹ She was sister to Germanicus, and was also called Livilla.

hands of many." On the other hand, calling Maroboduus a runaway, he described him as one who was inexperienced in fighting; who had sought defence from the coverts of Hercynia, and then by gifts and embassies courted the alliance of Rome; a betrayer of his country; a lifeguardsman of Cæsar's, worthy to be exterminated in the indignant spirit with which they had slaughtered Quintilius Varus. "Let them only remember their many battles, the issue of which, and at length the expulsion of the Romans, were proof enough which side had the advantage in the war."

46. Neither did Maroboduus fail to boast of himself and vituperate the foe; but, holding Inguiomer by the hand, "he protested that the whole glory of the Cherusicans centred in him, and that by his counsels had been conducted whatever had terminated successfully; Arminius, a man of a frantic spirit, and a novice in affairs, appropriated the glory of another, by treacherously surprising three legions left to themselves and their unsuspecting leader, thus involving Germany in slaughter, and himself in infamy, for his wife and son still endured captivity. For himself, when attacked formerly by Tiberius at the head of twelve legions, he had preserved unstained the glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the war; nor did he repent of having put it in their own power to choose whether they would renew the war with unimpaired resources, or continue in peace and security." The armies, besides the incitement from these speeches, were animated by motives of their own,—the Cherusicans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; on the other side, the contest was for an extension of dominion. Never did they engage with greater effort or with more equivocal success; the right wing of both armies being routed, a fresh encounter was expected, till Maroboduus drew off his army to the hills, a sign that he was humbled; and, reduced by successive desertions, he retired to the Marcomanians, and thence sent ambassadors to Tiberius to implore succour. They were answered, "That he had no right to invoke aid of the Roman arms against the Cherusicans, since to the Romans, while they were warring with the same foe, he had never administered any assistance." Drusus was however despatched, as I have said, to preserve the tranquillity of the empire.

47. The same year twelve populous cities of Asia fell in ruins from an earthquake which happened by night, and therefore the more sudden and destructive was the calamity; neither did the usual mode of escape in such events, by rushing into the open space, avail now, as those who fled were swallowed up by the yawning earth. It is related, "That immense mountains sank down, that level places were seen to be elevated into hills, and that fires flashed forth during the catastrophe." The Sardinians suffered most severely from the destructive visitation, and therefore received the greatest share of compassion, for Tiberius promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces, and remitted all their contributions to the public treasury, and the prince's privy purse, for five years. The inhabitants of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus were held the next in sufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, Egeatæ, Apollonians, with those called the Mostenians and Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocesarea, Myrina, Cyme, and Tmolus, were all for the same time exempted from tribute; and it was resolved to send one of the senate to view their present emergency and administer relief. Marcus Aletus was therefore chosen, one of prætorian rank, lest, as a man of consular rank then governed Asia, jealousy might arise between persons of equal rank, and the business be impeded thereby.

48. The credit of this noble bounty to the public Cæsar increased by acts of private beneficence equally popular; the estate of the wealthy Emilia Musa, who died intestate, and which was claimed for the prince's purse, he surrendered to Emilius Lepidus, to whose family she seemed to belong; as also to Marcus Servilius the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself; but he found Servilius named sole heir in a former and well-authenticated will; alleging that such was "the nobility of both, that they deserved to be supported." Nor did he ever accept any man's inheritance, but where friendship gave him a title; the wills of such as were strangers to him, and of such as, from pique to others, had appointed the prince their heir, he utterly rejected. But, as he relieved the honest poverty of the virtuous, so he degraded from the senate (or suffered to quit it of their own accord) Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and

Quintus Vitellius, who were spendthrifts, and brought themselves to poverty by misconduct.

49. About this time, Tiberius consecrated the temples of the gods, consumed by age or fire, the building of which had been begun by Augustus; that near the great circus, vowed by Aulus Posthumius the dictator, to Bacchus, Proserpina, and Ceres; in the same place, the temple of Flora, founded by Lucius Publicius and Marcus Publicius, while they were ædiles; the temple of Janus, built in the herb-market by Caius Duillius, who first signalized the Roman power at sea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by Germanicus: this temple Atilius had vowed in the same war.

50. The law of violated majesty, in the meantime, was advancing rapidly, and an informer charged Apuleia Varilia, grand-niece to Augustus, and descended from his sister, with vilifying the deified Augustus, Tiberius, and his mother, in defamatory language; and though nearly allied to the emperor, with having committed adultery. Concerning the adultery, sufficient provision was thought to be already made by the Julian law:¹ in the charge of treason, Tiberius desired that a distinction should be made: "If she had spoke irreverently of Augustus, she must be condemned; but, for invectives against himself, he would not have her called to account." The consul asked him, "What were his sentiments respecting the aspersions of his mother, which the accused was charged with uttering?" To this he made no answer; but at the next sitting of the senate, he prayed too in her name, "that no words in whatsoever manner spoken against her, might be imputed to any one as a crime;" he thus caused Apuleia to be released from the charge of treason; of her punishment too for adultery he begged a mitigation, and prevailed that, "according to the example of our ancestors, she should be removed by her kindred two hundred miles from Rome." Manlius, her adulterer, was banished Italy and Africa.

51. A contest at this time arose about substituting a

¹ The law against adultery was called *Lex Julia*, because Augustus, the author of it, had been adopted by Julius Cæsar. The wife who was found guilty forfeited half her effects, and was banished to an island.

prætor in the room of Vipsanius Gallus, removed by death; Germanicus and Drusus (for they were yet at Rome) patronised Haterius Agrippa, a relation of Germanicus; the majority, on the contrary, insisted that the greater number of children should be a ground of preference in candidates, for such was the law.¹ Tiberius rejoiced to see the senate adjudicating between his sons and the laws: the law, without doubt, was vanquished, yet not easily, and by a small majority, in the same manner as laws were vanquished when laws were in force.

52. This year a war began in Africa, under the conduct of Tacfarinas. He was a native of Numidia, and had served amongst the auxiliaries in the Roman armies; but soon deserting, he collected, at first a herd of vagabonds and men inured to robberies, for purposes of depredation and rapine; then formed them like an army, into regular companies of foot and troops of horse; at length he was no longer esteemed the leader of a disorderly gang, but as general of the Musulanians. This powerful people, bordering upon the deserts of Africa, still uncivilized and without towns, took arms, and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors;² these too had a general named Mazippa, and between the two leaders the army was divided; so that Tacfarinas might keep the flower of the army in camp, armed after the Roman manner, and accustom them to discipline and obedience, Mazippa with a flying band might carry fire, slaughter, and terror through the surrounding neighbourhood. They had likewise forced the Cinithians into their measures,—a nation far from contemptible; when Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, marched against the enemy with one legion and what troops of the allies were under his command collected together, a handful of men when compared with the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his chief care that they should not be induced by fear to evade an engagement, and thus protract the war. He

* By the law called *Papia Poppæa*, the candidate who had the greatest number of children was to be deemed duly elected. In consequence of this law, it became the common practice of men who had no issue, but were determined, at all events, to secure their election, to adopt a competent number, and, as soon as they obtained the government of provinces, to renounce their fictitious children. The fraud was afterwards repressed. See *Annals*, b. xv. a. 19.

² The Mauri, inhabitants of Mauritania, bordered on what is now called Algiers.

gave them hopes of victory, only to enable him to vanquish them. The legion was therefore placed in the centre, the light cohorts and two squadrons of horse in the wings: nor did Tacfarinas decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and after a long series of years, military renown obtained for the name of Furius. For since Camillus,¹ the famous restorer of Rome, and his son, the renown of commanding victorious armies was enjoyed by other families of that stock: even the last, whose achievements I now record, was thought to possess no military talents: whence Tiberius was the more disposed to laud him in the senate. The fathers decreed him triumphal ornaments, which, on account of his unambitious character, was not attended with any danger to Camillus.

53. The consuls for the following year were Tiberius the third time, Germanicus the second; but this honour Germanicus entered upon at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he had arrived by the coast of Illyricum, from visiting his brother Drusus, then staying in Dalmatia, and after enduring a tempestuous passage in the Adriatic, and soon after in the Ionian sea: he therefore spent a few days in refitting his fleet, and meanwhile viewed the Bay of Actium, renowned for the naval victory there, as also the spoils consecrated by Augustus,² and the camp of Antony, with an affecting remembrance of these his ancestors; for Antony, as I have said, was his great-uncle, Augustus his grandfather: hence this scene proved to Germanicus a prolific source of images pleasing and melancholy. Hence he came to Athens, where, in compliment to that ancient city and ally, he employed but one lictor. The Greeks received him with the most elaborate honours, and to give greater weight to their adulation, recounted the ancient exploits and sayings of their countrymen.

54. Hence sailing to Eubœa, he crossed over to Lesbos, where Agrippina gave birth to Julia, the last of her children; then keeping the coast of Asia, he visited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and entered the straits of Pro-

¹ M. Furius Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Gauls, and saved the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364.

² Augustus, to perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, built the city of Nicopolis, near the Bay; established quinquennial games; and, having enlarged an old Temple of Apollo, adorned it with naval spoils, and dedicated it to Neptune and Mars. Suet. in Aug. s. 18.

pontis, and the mouth of the Euxine, from a desire to become acquainted with places of antiquity and renown; at the same time he relieved such of the provinces as were labouring under intestine strife, or the oppressions of their magistrates. On his return he endeavoured to go and view the sacred rites of the Samothracians, but was prevented from landing by the north winds which blew in the opposite direction. Quitting Ilium and her remains, venerable for her vicissitudes of fortune and the origin of Rome, he retraced the coast of Asia, and put in at Colophon, to consult there the oracle of the Clarian Apollo; it is not a female there, as at Delphi, but a priest, chosen from certain families, chiefly of Miletus, who merely learns the names and numbers of the applicants, and then descends into the oracular cave, where, after a draught of water from a secret spring, though ignorant for the most part of letters and poetry, he utters responses in verse, treating of such matters as the mind of any applicant suggests; and he was said to have predicted to Germanicus his approaching fate. but, as oracles are wont, in enigmatical terms.

55. But Cneius Piss^{us} that he might lose no time in commencing the execution of his purposes, having struck terror into the Athenians by the boisterous manner in which he entered the city, rebuked them in an angry speech, obliquely censuring Germanicus, "because lowering the dignity of the Roman name, he had paid excessive court, not to Athenians, a race extirpated by repeated slaughters, but that impure conflux, the offscouring of various nations, for these were they who had leagued with Mithridates against Sylla, and with Antony against Augustus." He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts against the Macedonians; her outrages on her own citizens. He was also exasperated against the city on account of insults offered to himself personally; because they would not pardon at his request one Theophilus, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. Thence sailing hastily through the Cyclades, and taking the shortest course, he overtook Germanicus at Rhodes; but Germanicus, who was not ignorant with what invectives he was assailed, yet acted with so much humanity, that when he might have left him to perish, when a sudden tempest drove him upon rocks, and the destruction of his enemy might be referred to accident, he despatched

galleys to rescue him from his perilous situation. The animosity of Piso however was not softened ; and scarce could he brook a day's delay, but left him, and arrived in Syria before him : nor was he sooner there, and found himself amongst the legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and caresses, to remove all the ancient centurions and every tribune remarkable for strict discipline, and assign their places to dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes ; he permitted sloth in the camps, licentiousness in the towns, the soldiery to range at large over the country, and commit every kind of wanton excess ; and carried the corruption so far, that in the discourses of the common men he was styled "Father of the Legions." Nor did Plancina restrain herself within the decencies of her sex, but mingled in the exercises of the cavalry, and the evolutions of the cohorts ; threw out reflections upon Agrippina, upon Germanicus ; and some even of the well-ordered soldiers willingly obeyed these base commands, from a rumour whispered abroad, "that all this was not unacceptable to Tiberius."

56. These doings were known to Germanicus ; but it was with him an object of more urgent solicitude to go to Armenia. An inconstant nation this from of old ; from the genius of the people, as well as from the situation of their country, which borders with a large frontier on our provinces, and stretches thence quite to Media, and lying between the two great empires, was often at variance with them ; with the Romans from hatred, with the Parthians from jealousy. At this time, and since the removal of Vonones, they had no king ; but the affections of the nation leaned to Zeno, son of Polemon, king of Pontus, because by emulating from his infancy the customs and tastes of the Armenians, hunting, feasting, and other pursuits, in fashion among the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon this head, therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great assembly, Germanicus put the regal diadem ; and all the people doing homage to their king, saluted him by the name "Artaxias," which they gave him from the name of their city. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their governor Quintus Veranius ; and to raise their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, several of the royal taxes were lessened. Quintus

Servæus was set over the Commagenians, then first transferred to the jurisdiction of a prætor.

57. From the affairs of the allies, thus all successfully settled, Germanicus reaped no pleasure, through the insolence of Piso, who was ordered to lead by himself, or his son, part of the legions into Armenia, but neglected both. They at last met at Cyrrhus, the winter-quarters of the tenth legion; Piso, with a countenance so set as not to indicate fear, and Germanicus so as to conceal his displeasure. He was indeed, as I have observed, of a humane spirit; but his friends, expert in inflaming animosities, aggravated real offences, added fictitious ones, and in various ways accused Piso, Plancina, and their sons. To this interview Germanicus admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in words such as resentment coupled with a desire to conceal its dictates suggests; Piso replied with ironical entreaties, and they parted in open enmity. Piso hereafter rarely sat on the tribunal by Germanicus; and when he did, he showed manifest signs of the most determined opposition to him. He was also heard to say, at a banquet given by the king of the Nabathæans, when golden crowns of great weight were presented to Germanicus and Agrippina, but to Piso and the rest such as were light—"That this banquet was made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian monarch." With these words, he cast away his crown, and added many strictures upon luxury, which, though cutting, Germanicus bore with patience.

58. At this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians; he sent them with instructions "to call attention to their mutual league and friendship, and state his desire to renew it; that in honour to Germanicus he would come to receive him as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and that he requested in the meantime, that Vonones might not be suffered to remain in Syria, nor, taking advantage of so near a neighbourhood, to correspond with the nobles of the nations, in order to draw them into dissensions." The answer given by Germanicus, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceived in lofty terms; but, of the coming of the king, and the respect intended to himself, he spoke with grace and modesty. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia; a concession made not only in consideration of the request of

Artabanus, but as a rebuff to Piso, with whom Vonones was high in favour, for the many attentions and presents by which he had obliged Plancina.

59. In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus went to Egypt, to view the antiquities of the country; but his pretext was his concern for the state of the province: and, indeed, by opening the granaries he reduced the price of corn, and practised many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the same with that of the Greeks; after the example of Publius Scipio,¹ who, we are told, was constant in the same practices in Sicily, even while the Punic war raged. For his manners and habit, Tiberius blamed him in a gentle style, but censured him with great asperity for violating an establishment of Augustus, and entering Alexandria without consent of the prince. For Augustus, amongst other secret plans of power, had appropriated Egypt,² and restrained the senators and dignified Roman knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be distressed with famine by any who seized that province, the key to the empire by sea and land, and defensible by a small garrison of men against large armies.

60. Germanicus, not yet informed that his journey was censured, sailed up the Nile, beginning at Canopus; which was built by the Spartans, as a monument to Canopus, a pilot buried there, at the time when Menelaus returning to Greece was driven to opposite seas and the Libyan continent. Hence he visited the neighbouring mouth of the river, sacred to Hercules; whom the natives aver to have been born amongst

¹ Scipio's conformity to foreign manners was censured by Fabius Maximus, as a dangerous example, tending to corrupt the Roman discipline. "*Ipsius enim imperatoris non Romanus modo, sed ne militaris quidem cultus jactabatur; cum pallio, crepidisque inambulare in Gymnasio.*"—Liv. lib. xxix.

² To visit Sicily, and the provinces of Gaul and Spain, was at all times permitted to the senators and other eminent citizens. Egypt, by the policy of Augustus, was a sequestered and prohibited province. The senate had no authority over it: the administration was altogether in the hands of the prince. Egypt, being the great corn country from which Rome drew vast supplies, it was thought advisable to keep it in the hands of the emperor, among the secret resources of the state, *inter arcana imperii*. The mouths of the Nile, and the isthmus of Suez, could be defended by a small force.

them ; that he was the most ancient of the name, and that all the rest, who with equal virtue followed his example, were called after him. Next he visited the mighty remains of Thebes ; where upon huge obelisks yet remained Egyptian characters describing its former opulence : one of the oldest priests was ordered to interpret them ; he said they related " that it once contained seven hundred thousand fighting men ; that with that army king Rhamses had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and Scythians ; and to his empire had added the territories of the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians ; a tract of countries reaching from the sea of Bithynia to that of Lycia : " here also was read the assessment of tribute laid on the several nations ; what weight of silver and gold ; what number of horses and arms ; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the temples ; what quantities of grain, and of all necessaries, were by each people paid ; forming an amount no less costly than the revenues exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the power of the Romans.

61. Germanicus was intent upon seeing other wonders ; the chief were, the stone statue of Memnon,¹ yielding, when struck by the solar rays, a vocal sound ; the pyramids, raised like mountains amidst irregular and almost impassable heaps of sands, by the pride and opulence of their kings ; the artificial lake,² a receptacle of the overflowing Nile ; and elsewhere the straits and depths so immense as not to be fathomable by any measures which the curious could employ. Thence he proceeded to Elephantina and Syene,³ formerly barriers of the Roman empire, which is now extended to the Red sea.

62. Whilst Germanicus spent this summer in several provinces, Drusus acquired no inconsiderable renown by sowing feuds amongst the Germans ; and as the power of Maroboduus was now broken, by engaging them to follow him up and complete his ruin. Amongst the Gothones was a young man

¹ Strabo states (book xvii.) that he saw this celebrated statue, and a little after sunrise heard the sound. Juvenal mentions it in his 15th satire, ver. 5 :—

" Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ."

² The lake Mareotis, which looks like a great sea to the south of Alexandria.

³ Elephantine is an island in the Nile, in the Higher Egypt, towards the border of Æthiopia, not far from the town of Syene, which lies still

of rank, named Catualda, formerly driven into exile by Maroboduus, but now in his distress resolved on revenge. With a strong force he entered the borders of the Marcomannians, and having seduced their chiefs into his alliance, stormed the regal palace, and the castle adjoining it. Here were the stores of prey accumulated by the Suevians; and here also were found many victuallers and traders from our provinces, who, drawn hither from their several homes, by privilege of traffic, and induced to remain by the thirst of gain, had at last, through utter oblivion of their own country, fixed themselves in a hostile soil.

63. To Maroboduus, on every side forsaken, no other refuge remained but the mercy of Cæsar; he therefore passed the Danube where it washes the province of Noricum, and wrote to Tiberius,—not in the language of a fugitive or suppliant, but in a spirit suitable to his former fortune,—“That many nations invited him to them, as a king once so glorious; but he preferred to all the friendship of Rome.” The emperor answered, “That in Italy he should have a safe and honourable retreat, and when his affairs required his presence, the same security to return.” But to the senate he declared, “That never had Philip of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman people.” The speech is extant; in it he magnifies “the greatness of the man, the fierceness of the nations his subjects; the alarming proximity of such an enemy to Italy, and his own measures to destroy him.” Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians: as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readiness to resume his dominion: but for eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; losing much of his celebrity in consequence of his immoderate love of security. Catualda experienced the same fate and sought the same refuge; he was soon after expelled by the forces of the Hermundurians, led by Vibilius, and being received under the Roman protection, was conveyed to Forum Julii, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians,

more to the south. Strabo says, the Romans had a garrison at Syene, and there Tacitus places the boundary of the Roman empire in the reign of Tiberius and the following emperors, as low down as Trajan, whose enterprising spirit forgot the maxims of Augustus, and extended his conquests as far as the Red sea.

their followers, lest, had they been mixed with the provinces, they might have disturbed their present quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Mærus and Cusus, and for their king had assigned them Vannius, by nation a Quadian.

64. As soon as it was known at Rome that Artaxias was by Germanicus given to the Armenians for their king, the fathers decreed to him and Drusus that they should enter the city in ovation. Arches were likewise erected on each side of Mars the Avenger, with the statues of the two Cæsars; and for Tiberius, he was more rejoiced to have established peace by policy, than if he had ended the war by battles. He therefore also assailed by craft Rhescuporis, a king of Thrace. That whole nation had been subject to Rhemetalces, but upon his death one moiety was by Augustus granted to Rhescuporis his brother, and one to Cotys¹ his son: in this partition, the cultivated lands, cities, and territories, bounding upon Greece, fell to Cotys; to Rhescuporis, the wilds, the barren places, and the parts exposed to a hostile neighbourhood. The two kings were likewise dissonant in their genius; the former mild and agreeable, the latter, stern, rapacious, and impatient of a partner in power. At first they lived in hollow friendship; but soon Rhescuporis began to pass his limits, to seize for himself the portions of Cotys, and where he met resistance to exercise violence; cautiously, indeed, in the life of Augustus, for as both owed their kingdoms to him, he feared that he would avenge any contempt of his authority; but upon the change of emperors, he poured in bands of robbers, and demolished forts, to bring about a war.

65. Tiberius was solicitous above all things that matters

¹ Ovid has confirmed the character given by Tacitus of this prince. His ninth elegy, *De Ponto*, is addressed to Cotys, praying a safe retreat in his dominions:—

“Regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo
 Nomen in Eumolpi pervenit usque, Coty,
 Fama loquax vestras si jam pervenit ad aures,
 Me tibi finitimi parte jacere soli;
 Supplicis exaudi, juvenum mitissime, vocem;
 Quamque potes profugo (nam potes) affer opem.

Ejusdem sacri cultor uterque sumus.
 Ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo,
 Terra sit exiliis ut tuâ fida meis.”—*De Ponto*, epist. ix.

once settled should not be disturbed. He despatched a chosen centurion to the two kings to forbid a decision by arms, and Cotys forthwith dismissed the forces he had raised; Rhescuporis, with pretended moderation, requested an interview, "for by treaty," he said, "they might adjust all their differences." Upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions they quickly agreed, while one from natural facility, the other with a guileful purpose, yielded and accepted every proposition. Rhescuporis, to give solemnity, as he said repeatedly, to the league, added a banquet; and when the pleasures of the feast had been protracted to a late hour, when the revelry was at its height, and the wine had produced its effect, Rhescuporis seized upon Cotys unawares; and though, when he perceived the treacherous purpose, he conjured him by the sanctity of kings, the common gods of their family, and the laws of the hospitable board, he loaded him with chains. Rhescuporis, having now seized all Thrace, wrote to Tiberius, "that a plot had been laid for him, but he had anticipated the contriver;" and pretending a war against the Bastarnians and Scythians, fortified himself with new forces, horse and foot.

66. Tiberius answered very quietly, "That if he had practised no guile he might securely trust to his innocence, but neither could he himself nor the senate, without hearing the cause, distinguish between justice and injustice; that therefore, delivering up Cotys, he should come, and upon him transfer the odium of guilt." This letter Latinus Pandus, proprætor of Mœsia, transmitted to Thrace by the soldiers sent to receive Cotys. Rhescuporis, wavering between fear and rage, determined at last rather to be tried for a completed than an imperfect villany; he caused Cotys to be murdered, and gave out that he had died by his own hands. Tiberius, however, did not abandon the artful course he had once adopted, but upon the death of Pandus, whom Rhescuporis alleged to have been his enemy, selected for the government of Mœsia, Pomponius Flaccus,¹ an old officer, in close friend-

¹ During the administration of Pomponius Flaccus, Ovid says he lived in security on the banks of the Ister:—

"Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, et illo
Ripa ferox Istri sub duce tuta fuit."

De Ponto, lib. ix. epist. 9.

ship with the king, and therefore more qualified to betray him.

67. Flaccus passed into Thrace, and though he found him full of hesitation, and reflecting on the enormities he had committed, yet by large promises he prevailed upon him to enter the Roman lines. Upon this the king, on pretence of honour, was surrounded with a strong party. The tribunes and centurions by advice and persuasion induced him to proceed. The further they advanced the more evident it was that he was a prisoner, and he at length became aware of the necessity he was under; thus they conveyed him to the city. He was accused before the senate by the wife of Cotys, and condemned to exile far from his kingdom. Thrace was divided between Rhemetalces his son, who had opposed his father's measures, and the sons of Cotys; these were minors, and placed with their kingdom under the administration of Trebellienus Rufus, formerly prætor, after the example of our ancestors, who sent Marcus Lepidus into Egypt, as guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was transported to Alexandria, and there slain while attempting to escape, or falsely charged with it.

68. At the same time Vonones, who had been removed as I have above related into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavoured to escape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinsman the king of Scythia. Under pretence of hunting he struck away from the coast, and made for the intricacies of the forest, and soon, from the speed of his horse, reached the river Pyramus. But the neighbouring inhabitants, apprised of the king's flight, had broken the bridges, and the stream could not be forded; upon the banks, therefore, of the river, he was by Vibius Fronto, a captain of horse, put in bonds; soon after, Remmius, a resumed veteran,¹ who was before his keeper, in affected wrath, ran him through with a sword; whence the more probable account is, that he slew Vonones because he was an accomplice in his escape, and feared he might give evidence against him.

69. Germanicus, returning from Egypt, learned that all his orders to the legions and the cities were either entirely

¹ The word in the original, *Evocatus*, signifies one who is liable to be called out again to serve; and may be considered equivalent to our "half-pay officer."

abolished or perverted, hence he sought to inflict every indignity on Piso. Nor less virulent were the efforts of Piso against Germanicus. Piso afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detained by the illness of Germanicus; again, when he heard of his recovery, and perceived that vows were paid for his restoration, the lictors, by his command, drove away the victims already at the altars, overturned the apparatus for the sacrifices, and scattered the people of Antioch employed in celebrating the festival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady which had again assaulted Germanicus. His own persuasion that poison was given him by Piso heightened the relentless vehemence of the disease; indeed, upon the floors and walls were found the exhumed remains of human bodies, with charms and spells, and the name of Germanicus graven on sheets of lead; carcasses half burnt besmeared with gore, and other instruments of sorceries, by which souls are thought to be doomed to the infernal gods; besides, certain persons sent by Piso were accused of coming to ascertain the unfavourable symptoms.

70. These things filled Germanicus with apprehensions great as his indignation. "If his doors," he said, "were besieged, if under the eyes of his enemies he must render up his spirit, what might be expected to befall his unhappy wife, his infant children? The progress of poison was thought too slow. Piso was impatient, and eager to command alone the legions and the province, but Germanicus was not sunk so low, nor would the price of his murder remain with the murderer." In a letter to Piso he renounced his friendship; most add that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did Piso tarry longer, but sailed away, regulating his course so that he should not have far to return should the death of Germanicus leave the government of Syria vacant.

71. Germanicus for a short interval conceived hopes of his recovery, but drooping again when his end approached, he spoke on this wise to his attending friends,—“If I were dying in the course of nature I should have just cause of complaint against the gods, for hurrying me from my parents, my children, and my country, by a premature departure in the vigour of youth; but cut short in my career, as I now am, by the nefarious arts of Piso and Plancina, my dying prayer, which I deposit in your breasts, is, that you would tell

my father and my brother,¹ with what persecutions mangled, with what treachery circumvented, I end a life of consummate misery by a death the most revolting. Those who felt an interest in my prospects, or were connected with me by blood, nay, even those who envied me while I lived, will weep at the fate of him who, once renowned, and the survivor of so many wars, hath fallen by the dark devices of a woman. You will have an opportunity of complaining to the senate and invoking the laws. To show respect for the dead with idle wailings is not the principal office of friends,—it is to remember his dying wishes, to fulfil his last injunctions. Even strangers will lament Germanicus; you will avenge me, if it was myself and not my fortune that you caressed. Show the people of Rome my wife, the granddaughter of Augustus, tell over to them our six children. Compassion will wait on those who bring such charges; and the accused, if they pretend iniquitous mandates, will not be believed; or if believed, not pardoned.” His friends, touching the hand of the dying prince, swore that they would forego their lives sooner than their revenge.

72. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her “by her remembrance of him, by their common children, to divest herself of her unyielding spirit, and humble to fortune in the storm of her displeasure; and, on her return to the city, not to irritate those who were more than a match for her by a competition for the mastery.” So much openly and more in secret; whence he was believed to have warned her of danger from Tiberius. Soon after he expired, to the inexpressible grief of the province and the neighbouring people; remote nations and their kings mourned for him: such had been his urbanity to the allies; such his clemency to his enemies! Alike an object of veneration, whether seen or heard; for while he sustained the dignity and authority of his exalted station, he kept clear of offence, and avoided the imputation of arrogance.

73. The funeral, which was unaccompanied by the family images² and a procession, was abundantly honoured by the praises of the deceased, and the commemoration of his virtues. There were those who from his person, his age, his manner of

¹ Tiberius was his father by adoption; Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was of course his brother.

² The family images were left at Rome.

death, and even from the proximity of the places where he departed, compared him, in the circumstances of his fate, to Alexander the Great: "Each of a graceful person, each of illustrious descent; in years neither much exceeding thirty; both fell victims to the machinations of their countrymen, in the midst of foreign nations: but Germanicus was gentle towards his friends; moderate in his pleasures; the husband of one wife; his children legitimate; nor inferior as a warrior, though not so rash, and though hampered and prevented from a final reduction of Germany, which had been smitten to the earth by his repeated victories. But had he been sole arbiter of things, had he possessed the sovereignty and title of royalty, he would have attained to military renown with greater facility in proportion as he surpassed him in clemency, in moderation, and all the other virtues." His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place fixed upon for the sepulchral rites: whether it bore the marks of poison remained undecided; for people were divided in their conclusions according as they pitied Germanicus, and presumed the guilt of Piso, or were prejudiced in his favour.

74. It was next debated amongst the legates of the legions and the other senators, there, to whom should be committed the administration of Syria: and after the faint efforts of others, it was long disputed between Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius. Marsus at last yielded to Sentius, the older man and the more active candidate. By him one Martina, infamous in that province for practices in poisoning, and a close confidant of Plancina, was sent to Rome, at the suit of Vitellius,¹ Veranius, and others, who were collecting evidence of guilt, and preparing articles against Piso and Plancina, as actively as if the charge had been formally brought against them.

75. Agrippina, though worn out with sorrow, and her health impaired, yet, impatient of all delay to her revenge, embarked with the ashes of Germanicus and her children, amidst universal grief "that a lady of the very highest quality, who in her late most honoured union was wont to be seen surrounded by persons offering her the tribute of their homage and congratulations, should then be carrying in her bosom funeral ashes, uncertain of vengeance, alarmed for herself; and from

¹ Publius Vitellius, uncle to Vitellius the emperor. See Annals, book i. s. 70.

her unfortunate fruitfulness exposed to the assaults of fortune at so many points." Piso the while was overtaken at the Isle of Cos by a message, "that Germanicus was deceased." He rejoiced extravagantly at the intelligence, slew victims, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples : but immoderate as was his joy, more arrogant and insulting proved that of Plancina, who immediately threw off her mourning for a deceased sister, and assumed the habit of gaiety.

76. To him flocked the centurions with representations, "that the affections of the legions were eagerly fixed on him, and that he should proceed to resume the province injuriously taken from him, and now vacant." As he therefore consulted what he had best pursue, his son Marcus Piso advised "a speedy journey to Rome ; hitherto," he said, "nothing past expiation was committed ; nor were impotent suspicions to be dreaded, nor the idle blazonings of fame : his variance with Germanicus might perhaps expose him to odium, but not penal visitation ; and by depriving him of the province, the malice of his enemies was glutted ; but if he returned thither, as Sentius would certainly oppose him, a civil war would thus be commenced : neither would the centurions and soldiers persist in his party, as the memory of their late commander, and an inveterate love to the Cæsars, would preponderate."

77. Domitius Celer, in virtue of his intimate friendship with Piso, argued on the contrary, "that the event should be followed up ; Piso, and not Sentius, was governor of Syria ; to him were given the badges and jurisdiction of prætor, to him the legions : if assailed by hostilities, with how much better warrant could he take up arms in his defence, who was thus invested with the authority of general, and acted under special orders from the emperor. Time also should be suffered to intervene after the circulation of rumours, that they may grow stale : rarely could the innocent bear up against the prejudice created by recent charges ; but were he once possessed of the army, and had augmented his forces, many events, not to be foreseen, would turn up in his favour. Are we then hastening to arrive at Rome with the ashes of Germanicus, that you may there fall, unheard and undefended, a victim to the wailings of Agrippina, and the first impressions made on the unreasoning multitude by rumour ? Livia, it is true, is your confederate ; Tiberius is your friend ; but both secretly : and

indeed none will more ostentatiously bewail the fate of Germanicus, than such as most heartily rejoice at it."

78. Piso, of himself prone to violent measures, was with no great labour persuaded into this opinion, and in a letter transmitted to Tiberius, accused Germanicus "of luxury and insolence; observing that he who had been expelled to make room for dangerous designs against the state, had now sought to resume, with his former faith and loyalty, the care of the army." In the meantime, he put Domitius on board a galley, and ordered him, avoiding the coasts and the isles, to sail through the main sea to Syria. The deserters who from all quarters were flocking to him, he formed into companies, and armed all the retainers to the camp; then sailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits upon their march into Syria; and wrote to the petty princes of Cilicia to assist him with succours: nor was the younger Piso slow in forwarding the war, though he had given his voice against commencing it.

79. As they coasted Lycia and Pamphilia, they encountered the ships which carried Agrippina: with hostile feelings on both sides, each at first prepared for combat; but as their fears were reciprocal, they proceeded no further than reproaches. Vibius Marsus summoned Piso, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence: he answered with derision, "that when the prætor, who was to sit upon cases of poisonings, had assigned a day to the accusers and the accused, he would attend." Domitius, meanwhile, landing at Laodicea, a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter-quarters of the sixth legion, which he believed to be the most prone to engage in novel attempts, but was anticipated by Pacuvius, the lieutenant-general. Sentius represented this by letter to Piso, and warned him, "at his peril to infect the camp by ministers of corruption; or to assail the province by war;" and drew into a body such as he knew cherished the memory of Germanicus, or were averse to his foes: upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that Piso was attacking the majesty of the prince, and invading the Roman state; and then put himself at the head of a powerful force ready for the encounter.

80. Neither did Piso, though his enterprise miscarried, fail to adopt the best measures of security under existing circumstances; but seized a castle of Cilicia strongly fortified, named

Celendris: for, to the auxiliary Cilicians sent him by the petty kings, he had joined his body of deserters, as also the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and Plancina's slaves, and in number and bulk formed them into a legion. In his harangue to them he protested, "that he, who was the lieutenant of Cæsar, was excluded from the province which Cæsar had committed to him; not by the legions (for by their invitation he came) but by Sentius, who disguised under feigned charges his own personal hate; but with confidence they may stand in battle against men who would refuse to fight when they saw Piso, a commander lately by themselves styled their 'Father,' who had the best of it, if the question were tried on principles of justice, and who was not deficient in power and resolution, if the sword must decide it." He then arrayed his men without the fortifications, on a hill lofty and precipitous, for all the rest was begirt by the sea: against them stood the veterans regularly embattled, and with a reserve; one side had the advantage in the hardy character of the troops, the other in the rugged and inaccessible nature of their position; but the latter had no spirit, nor hope, nor even weapons, save those of rustics, snatched up to meet a sudden emergency. As soon as they came to blows, the issue was no longer doubtful than while the Roman cohorts struggled up to level ground: the Cilicians then fled, and shut themselves up in the castle.

81. Piso meanwhile attempted in vain an assault upon the fleet, which waited at a small distance; when he returned, he presented himself upon the walls, where, now prostrating himself in an agony of grief, then calling upon particular soldiers by name, and tempting them by rewards, he laboured to excite a mutiny; and thus much had already effected, that a standard-bearer of the sixth legion revolted to him with his eagle, when Sentius commanded the cornets and trumpets to sound, the works to be assaulted, the ladders reared, and all the bravest men to mount, and others to pour from the engines volleys of darts and stones, and brands. The obstinacy of Piso was at last vanquished; and he desired "that upon delivering his arms he might remain in the castle while the emperor was consulted as to whom he would commit the government of Syria;" these conditions were not accepted; nor was aught granted him save ships and a safe conduct to Rome.

82. At Rome, when the illness of Germanicus became generally known, and all its circumstances, as usually happens in reports coming from a distance, were related with aggravations; grief and indignation prevailed, which even burst forth into lamentations. "There could be no doubt," they said, "that it was for this that he had been banished to the extremities of the empire; for this the province of Syria was committed to Piso; and these the fruits of Livia's mysterious conferences with Plancina: truly had their fathers spoken concerning his father Drusus; that the possessors of rule beheld with an evil eye the popular spirit of their sons; nor for aught else were they sacrificed, but that they meditated giving the Roman people a system of equal laws, and restoring liberty." These lamentations of the populace were so inflamed, upon the tidings of his death, that, without staying for an edict from the magistrates, without a decree of senate, they assumed a vacation; the courts were deserted, private houses shut up; everywhere were groans, or silent grief: nothing was devised for form or show; and, though they forbore not to exhibit the exterior marks of mourning, in their souls they mourned still deeper. Accidentally some merchants from Syria, who had left Germanicus still alive, brought more joyful news of his condition: these were instantly believed, and instantly proclaimed; each, as fast as they met, informed others, who forthwith from joy conveyed their ill-authenticated information with improvements to more, and they flew through the city, and burst open the temples' doors; the night aided their credulity, and assertion was more confident in the dark. Nor did Tiberius oppose these fictions, but left them to vanish with time, and run their course: hence with more bitterness they afterwards grieved for him, as if anew snatched from them.

83. Honours were invented and decreed to Germanicus, various according to the intensity of affection for him, and the power of genius in the particular senators who proposed them: "that his name should be sung in the Salian hymn; curule chairs placed for him amongst the priests of Augustus, and over these chairs oaken crowns hung; his statue in ivory precede in the Circensian games; none but one of the Julian race be, in the room of Germanicus, created flamen or augur:" arches were added, one at Rome, one upon the banks of the

Rhine, one upon Mount Amanus, in Syria, with inscriptions of his exploits, and a testimony subjoined, "that he died for the commonwealth:" a cenotaph at Antioch, where his corpse was burnt; a tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of statues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be easily recounted. When they would have decreed him a golden shield,¹ distinguished in bulk as in material, to be placed among the founders of eloquence, Tiberius insisted "that he should dedicate one himself, such as was usual, and of a like size with others; for that eloquence was not measured by fortune; and it was sufficient glory if he were ranked with ancient writers." The battalion called the Juniors was now, by the equestrian order, entitled the battalion of Germanicus, and a rule made by them that, on every fifteenth of July, these troops should follow, as their standard, the effigies of Germanicus: of these honours many continue; some were immediately omitted, or have become obsolete in the lapse of time.

84. In the height of this public sorrow, Livia, sister to Germanicus, and married to Drusus, was delivered of male twins; an event even in middling families rare and acceptable, but to Tiberius matter of such joy that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, "that to no Roman of the same eminence, before him, were ever two children born at a birth:" for to his own glory he turned all things, even mere accidents. But to the people at such a sad conjuncture, it was a source of additional grief; as they feared that the family of Drusus thus increased would press heavier upon that of Germanicus.

85. The same year the licentiousness of women was by the senate restrained with severe laws; and it was provided, "that

¹ Pliny the elder says, that the images of eminent men were represented on the shield which they had been used to wear; and thence the images in honour of their memory were usually called shields. Pliny, lib. xxxv. a. 3. Why the shield of Germanicus was to be placed among the orators, we learn from Suetonius, who says that Germanicus, among other works of genius, left Greek comedies written by himself. See Life of Caligula, a. 3. Ovid dedicated his "Fasti" to Germanicus, whom he celebrates as an orator and a poet:—

"Quæ sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,

Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.

Scimus et, ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,

Ingenii currant flumina quanta tui."—Fast. lib. i. 21.

no woman should become venal, if her father, grandfather, or husband, were Roman knights." For Vistilia, a lady born of a prætorian family, had before the ædiles published herself a prostitute; after a custom that prevailed among our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were sufficiently punished by merely thus avowing their infamy. Titidius Labeo too was questioned, why in the manifest guilt of his wife, he had neglected the punishment prescribed by the law; but he alleged that the sixty days¹ allowed for consultation were not elapsed; and it was deemed sufficient to proceed against Vistilia, who was banished to the Isle of Seriphos. Measures were also taken for exterminating the solemnities of the Jews² and the Egyptians; and a decree of the senate was passed, that four thousand descendants of franchised slaves, defiled with that superstition, and of age to carry arms, should be deported to Sardinia, to check the practice of freebootry there; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they perished, it would be small loss; that the rest should depart Italy, unless by a stated day they had renounced their profane rites.

86. After this, Tiberius represented that to supply the place of Occia, who had presided seven and fifty years over the vestals with the greatest sanctity, another virgin was to be chosen; and thanked Fonteius Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, that by offering their daughters they contended in good offices towards the commonwealth. Pollio's daughter was preferred; for nothing else but that her mother had continued in the same matrimonial union; for Agrippa, by a divorce, had impaired the credit of his house. Upon her who was passed over, Tiberius bestowed as a consolation a dowry of a thousand great sesterces.

87. As the people murmured at the oppressive price of corn, he settled the price of it to the buyer, and undertook to pay two sesterces a measure to the corn-dealers: neither however would he, on account of these acts, accept the name of "Father of his country," a title offered him before; nay,

¹ By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis*, sixty days from the commission of the crime were allowed to the husband to prepare for the prosecution.

² Tacitus seems to confound the Egyptian and Jewish religion; and, indeed, it does not appear in his account of the Jewish nation (*Hist. book v. s. 2 et seq.*) that he ever made it his business to investigate the history of that people. For the proceedings against the Jews and Egyptiana, see Suetonius in Tib. s. 36.

he sharply rebuked such as said, "his divine occupations," and called him "Lord." Hence it was difficult and dangerous to speak under a prince, who dreaded liberty and abhorred flattery.

88. I find in the writers of those times, some of them senators, that in the senate were read letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Chattians, undertaking to dispatch Arminius, if in order to it poison were sent to him; and an answer returned, "that the Roman people took vengeance on their foes, not by fraud and covert acts, but armed and in the face of the sun." In this, Tiberius gained equal glory with our ancient captains, who rejected and disclosed a plot to poison king Pyrrhus. Arminius, however, upon the departure of the Romans and expulsion of Maroboduus, aiming at royalty, became opposed to the liberty of his countrymen; who took up arms against him; and, during a contest carried on with fluctuating success, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred: the deliverer of Germany without doubt he was, and one who assailed the Roman state, not like other kings and leaders, in its infancy, but in the pride of imperial elevation; in single encounters sometimes victorious, sometimes defeated, but not worsted in the general issue of the war: he lived thirty-seven years; twelve he was in possession of power; and, amongst barbarous nations, his memory is still celebrated in their songs; his name is unknown in the annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own achievements; nor is he very much celebrated among us Romans, whose habit it is to magnify men and feats of old, but to regard with indifference the examples of modern prowess.¹

¹ For an excellent account of the hero Arminius, or Hermann, and a concise review of the events in Germany narrated in the first two books of the Annals, see Smith's Biographical Dict., art. *Arminius*.

BOOK III.

1. AGRIPPINA, continuing her course without the least intermission through all the perils and rigours of a sea-voyage in the winter, arrived at the island Corcyra, situated over against the shores of Calabria. Unable to moderate her grief, and impatient from inexperience of affliction, she spent a few days there to tranquillize her troubled spirit; when, on hearing of her arrival, all the intimate friends of her family, and most of the officers who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the neighbouring municipal towns, some thinking it due as a mark of respect to the prince, but the greater part, carried along with the current, rushed to the city of Brundisium, the readiest port in her way, and the safest landing. As soon as the fleet appeared in the deep, instantly were filled, not the port alone and adjacent parts of the sea, but the walls and roofs, and wherever the most distant prospect could be obtained, with a sorrowing multitude, earnestly asking each other "whether they should receive her on landing in silence, or with some expression of feeling?" Nor was it clearly determined what course would be most suitable to the occasion, when the fleet came slowly in, not as usual in sprightly trim, but all wearing the impress of sadness. When she descended from the ship, accompanied by her two infants,¹ and bearing in her hand the funeral urn, her eyes fixed stedfastly upon the earth, one simultaneous groan burst from the whole assemblage; nor could you distinguish relations from strangers, nor the wailings of men from those of women; nor could any difference be discerned, except that those who came to meet her, in the vehemence of recent grief, surpassed the attendants of Agrippina, who were exhausted with continued mourning.

¹ The two children of Germanicus probably were, Caligula, who, according to Suetonius, accompanied his father into the east; and Julia, who was born in the isle of Lesbos. See Book ii. s. 54.

2 Tiberius had despatched two prætorian cohorts, with directions that the magistrates of Calabria, with Apulians and Campanians, should pay their last offices of respect to the memory of his son; upon the shoulders, therefore, of the tribunes and centurions his ashes were borne; before them were carried the ensigns unadorned, and the fasces reversed. As they passed through the colonies, the populace in black, the knights in their purple robes, burnt precious raiment, perfumes, and whatever else is used in funeral solemnities, according to the ability of the place; even they whose cities lay remote from the route came forth, offered victims, and erected altars to the gods of the departed, and with tears and ejaculations testified their sorrow. Drusus came as far as Terracina, with Claudius the brother of Germanicus, and those of his children who had been left at Rome.¹ The consuls, Marcus Valerius and Marcus Aurelius (for they had now entered upon their office), the senate, and great part of the people, filled the road,—a scattered procession, each walking, and expressing his grief as inclination led him; in sooth, flattery was an utter stranger here, for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief, of Tiberius for the death of Germanicus.

3. Tiberius and Livia avoided appearing abroad,—public lamentation they thought below their dignity—or perhaps they apprehended, that if their countenances were examined by all eyes their hypocrisy would be detected. That Antonia, mother to the deceased, bore any part in the funeral, I do not find either in the historians or in the journals, though, besides Agrippina, and Drusus, and Claudius, his other relations are likewise there recorded by name; whether by sickness she was prevented, or whether her soul, vanquished by sorrow, could not bear to go through the representation of such an overpowering calamity. I would rather believe her constrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace, that they might seem to grieve alike, and that the grandmother and uncle might appear to have followed her example in staying at home.

4. The day on which his remains were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, at one time exhibited the silence of perfect

¹ These were Nero and Drusus, Agrippina and Drusilla. But it is not probable that the two daughters went so far to meet their father's funeral.

desolation; at another, the uproar of vociferous lamentation; the streets of the city were crowded, one general blaze of torches glared throughout the Campus Martius; there the soldiers under arms, the magistrates without the insignia of office, and the people ranged according to their tribes, passionately exclaimed, "that the commonwealth was utterly lost, that henceforth there remained no hope," so openly and so boldly that you would have believed they had forgotten those who ruled over them. But nothing pierced Tiberius more deeply than the warm interest excited in favour of Agrippina, while they gave her such titles as "the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, an unparalleled example of primitive virtue;" and, looking up to heaven and the gods, they implored "the preservation of her issue, and that they might outlive their oppressors."

5. There were those who missed the pomp of a public funeral, and compared with this the superior honours and magnificence displayed by Augustus in that of Drusus, the father of Germanicus; observing, "that he himself had travelled, in the depth of winter, as far as Ticinus, and, continuing by the corpse, had with it entered the city; around his bier were crowded the images of the Claudii and Julii; he was mourned in the forum; his encomium pronounced on the rostra; all the honours invented by our ancestors, or added by their posterity, were heaped upon him. But to Germanicus were denied the ordinary solemnities, and such as were due to every distinguished Roman. Certainly his corpse was burnt in a foreign country because of the long journey, in such a manner as it was, but afterwards it was but just to have compensated the scantiness of the first ceremony by the increased solemnity of the last; his brother met him but one day's journey, his uncle not even at the gate. Where were those observances of the ancients, the effigies of the dead laid in state on a bed, hymns composed in memory of departed virtue, with encomiums and tears? Where at least the ceremonial of sorrow?"

6. All this was known to Tiberius, and to suppress the reflections of the populace, he admonished them in an edict, "that many illustrious Romans had died for the commonwealth, but none so universally and vehemently regretted; and that it was to the honour of himself and all others, if bounds

were observed. The same things which became private families and small states, became not princes and an imperial people; that it was not unseemly to lament in the first transport of sorrow, nay, relief was afforded by weeping, but it was now time to recover and compose their minds. Thus the deified Julius, upon the loss of an only daughter;¹ thus the deified Augustus, upon the premature death of his grandsons, had both concealed their sorrow. More ancient examples were unnecessary; how often had the Roman people sustained with equanimity the slaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and entire destruction of illustrious families,—princes were mortal, the commonwealth was eternal,—they should therefore resume their customary vocations.” And because the spectacle of the Megalesian² games was at hand, he added, “that they should even lay aside their grief for amusements.”

7. The vacation ended, public affairs were resumed; Drusus departed for the army in Illyricum, the minds of all men impatiently looking for vengeance upon Piso; and amidst many complaints, that while he was roaming at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Greece, he was undermining by contemptuous and artful delay the evidences of his crimes; for it was generally known that Martina, that notorious trafficker in sorceries, and sent, as I have above related, by Cneius Sentius to Rome, had died suddenly at Brundisium; that poison lay concealed in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no symptoms of self-murder.

8. Piso, sending forward his son to Rome, with instructions how to soften the emperor, proceeded himself to Drusus: him he hoped to find less implacable for the death of a brother than favourable for the removal of a rival. Tiberius, to make it appear that the trial should be fair, received the young man graciously, and honoured him with the presents usually

¹ Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar by his wife Cornelia.

² The Megalesian games were so called from Μεγάλη Θεά, the great goddess, or *Magna Mater*. They were celebrated in the month of April, and lasted seven days. Germanicus died in the preceding month of November. The grief of the people at Rome was so violent, that even the Saturnalian games, which were towards the end of December, could not put a stop to the general sorrow. See Suet. in Calig. s. 6. The mourning, we find from Tacitus, continued to the month of April following.

bestowed on young noblemen. The answer of Drusus to Piso was, "that if the current rumours were true, he stood in the first place of grief and revenge; but he hoped they were false and chimerical, and that the death of Germanicus would be fatal to none." This he declared in public, avoiding all private communication with him; nor was it doubted but the answer was dictated by Tiberius, when one otherwise artless and unguarded from the inexperience of youth practised the cunning of age.

9. Piso having crossed the sea of Dalmatia,¹ and left his ships at Ancona, took first the road through Picenum, and then proceeding on the Flaminian way, met with the legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garrison in Africa. This too became the subject of popular censure, that he officiously mixed with the soldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters; therefore to avoid suspicion, or because when men are in dread their conduct wavers, he embarked at Narnia upon the Nar, thence sailed down the Tiber, and by landing at the tomb of the Cæsars heightened the wrath of the populace; besides, he and Plancia, in open day, strutted through the assemblage of persons on the banks with an air of cheerfulness, he attended by a long band of clients, she by a train of ladies. Among the incentives to popular displeasure were also his house, proudly overlooking the forum, and gaily decorated, the feast and revel he made, and the publicity given to these proceedings from the frequented locality

10. The next day Fulcinius Trio commenced criminal proceedings against Piso before the consuls, but was opposed by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had accompanied Germanicus: they said, "that in this prosecution Trio had no part; nor did they themselves act as accusers, but as informants and witnesses of the facts, they would produce the injunctions of Germanicus." Trio, dropping the accusation in that cause, got leave to call in question his former life: and the emperor was solicited to undertake the trial; which not even the accused opposed, dreading the inclinations of the people and senate: "Tiberius, on the contrary, he knew to be resolute in despising popular rumours, and implicated in guilt with his mother.: besides, that truth and misrepresentations

¹ Now the Gulf of Venice.

were easiest distinguished by a single judge, but in assemblies odium and envy prevailed." Tiberius was aware of the heavy responsibility of the trial, and the imputations circulated against him. In the presence therefore of a few friends, he heard the menacing charges of the accusers, as also the deprecatory defence of the accused; and referred the entire cause to the senate.

11. Meanwhile Drusus returned from Illyricum; and though the senate, for the captivity of Maroboduus, and his exploits the summer before, had decreed him an ovation, he postponed the honour, and entered the city without that distinction. Piso, for his advocates, desired Titus Arruntius, Fulcinus, Asinius Gallus, Æsernius Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius; but as they excused themselves on various grounds, he had in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus. And earnest were the speculations of all, how great would prove the fidelity of the friends of Germanicus; what the assurance of the criminal, what the behaviour of Tiberius; whether he would be able to restrain and keep down his feelings. Never were the people more intent on these matters; never did they exercise greater freedom in privately expressing reflections on the prince, or in keeping silence where silence implied suspicion.

12. On the day the senate met, Tiberius made a studied speech of artful temperament; he said, "that Piso had been his father's lieutenant and friend; and was appointed by himself, with the sanction of the senate, as coadjutor to Germanicus in administering the affairs of the east: whether he had there by contumacy and opposition exasperated the young prince, and exulted in his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unprejudiced minds. For, said he, if Piso in his office of lieutenant exceeded the limits of his commission, failed in respect to his commanding officer, and even rejoiced at his decease and at my affliction, I will detest the man, I will banish him from my house; I will punish the private wrong, but not with the power of a prince. But if he be found guilty of a crime which would call for vengeance, whosoever the murdered man might be, see that ye give to the children of Germanicus, and to us his parents, the solace of a just retribution. Consider too at the same time, whether he sought to excite discontent and mutiny in the army; whether he

endeavoured to win the affections of the soldiers by sinister arts, and to recover the province by arms: or whether ~~these~~ are falsely reported as aggravations by the accusers, with ~~whose~~ excessive zeal I am justly offended: for, what purpose was answered by stripping the corpse and exposing it to the ocular examination of the populace,—with what view was it disseminated even among foreign nations, that his death was the effect of poison, if all this was still doubtful, and remains yet to be tried? It is true, I bewail my son, and shall ever bewail him; but neither do I hinder the accused from bringing forward everything by which his innocence may be sustained, or oppressive conduct on the part of Germanicus, if he was chargeable with any, might at the same time be proved. And you also I implore not to treat imputed crimes as proved, because of my melaucholy connexion with this cause. If the ties of blood, if the faith of friends, has made any of you his patrons, aid him in his peril with your utmost eloquence and diligence. To the same pains, to the same constancy, I entreat his accusers. Thus we have granted to Germanicus, beyond the laws, that the inquest on his death is held rather in this court than in the forum, before the senate than the ordinary judges. In every other respect, let the same impartiality be observed. Let no man in this cause consider Drusus's tears; let none regard my sorrow, nor any false imputations upon my honour."

13. Two days were then appointed for maintaining the charge; six for preparing the defence, and three for making it. Fulcinius then began with charges relating to a remote period, and having no bearing upon the question, "the ambition and rapacity of Piso in his administration of Spain;" which proved, brought no guilt on the accused with reference to recent charges if acquitted; nor if repelled, could it clear him if found guilty of higher crimes. After him, Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius, all with equal zeal, but Vitellius with great eloquence, urged "that Piso, in his hatred to Germanicus, and zeal for innovation, had by tolerating their licentiousness and oppressions of the allies, corrupted the common soldiers to that degree, that by the most profligate he was styled 'Father of the legions:' that he had, on the contrary, shown himself implacably hostile to all the best men, especially the friends and companions of Germanicus; lastly, by

witchcraft and poison destroyed Germanicus himself : hence the offerings and immolations practised by him and Plancina : he had then attacked the commonwealth with open hostilities ; and, that he might be prosecuted as a criminal, they were forced to defeat him in a regular battle."

14. In every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither the charge of debauching the soldiery, nor abandoning the province to all the most profligate, nor even his insults to Germanicus, could he deny : he seemed only to clear himself of the charge of poison ; a charge which in truth was not sufficiently corroborated by the accusers, since they had only to allege "that at an entertainment of Germanicus, Piso, while he sat above him, with his hands poisoned the meat." For it appeared absurd that amongst so many slaves not his own, in view of so many bystanders, and under the eye of Germanicus, he would attempt it ; besides, the accused offered to have his set of slaves put to the rack, and demanded that the waiters should also : but the judges were implacable, but from different motives ; Tiberius for the hostile attack on the province ; the senate because it could never be convinced that the death of Germanicus was not the effect of fraud. Some moved for the letters written to Piso from Rome ; a motion opposed by Tiberius no less than by Piso. From without, at the same time, were heard the cries of the people, "that if he escaped the judgment of the senate, they would not keep their hands off him." They had already dragged some of his statues to the Gemonian steps,¹ and were proceeding to break them up ; but by the orders of Tiberius they were rescued and replaced. Piso was therefore put into a litter and escorted by a tribune of a prætorian cohort ; and various were the surmises expressed, whether he attended as a guard for safety, or a minister of death.

15. Plancina was under equal odium, but had more interest ; hence it was doubted how far Tiberius durst proceed against her. While her husband's hopes were undecided, she professed "she would share his fortune whatever it were, and, if fate would have it so, perish with him." But when, by the secret solicitations of Livia, she had secured her own pardon, she

¹ The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were a flight of steps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were exposed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

began by degrees to detach herself from her husband, and to make a separate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he should make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his sons, fortifying his mind, he again entered the senate; where he had to hear the renewal of the prosecution, the angry expressions of the fathers, and on all hands indications of displeasure and failure; but nothing daunted him so much as to behold Tiberius, exhibiting no token either of commiseration or anger, but sullen and close shut up, that he might be impregnable to every attempt at moving him. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote somewhat, which he sealed and delivered to his freedman: he then paid the usual attention to his person; and after that, late at night, his wife leaving the chamber, he ordered the door to be shut, and was found, at break of day, stabbed through the throat, his sword lying on the ground.

16. I remember to have heard from aged men, that in the hands of Piso was frequently seen a bundle of writings, which he did not expose, but which, as his friends constantly averred, "contained the letters of Tiberius and his orders against Germanicus; that he was resolved to lay them before the fathers and to charge the emperor, but was deluded by the hollow promises of Sejanus; and that neither did Piso die by his own hands, but of an express executioner, sent into his house." I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still lived when I was a youth. Tiberius, framing his countenance to sadness, complained to the senate that Piso, by that sort of death, had sought to throw odium upon him; and in a rapid succession of questions, inquired particularly how he had passed his last day, how his last night? The freedman answered to most with prudence, to some confusedly. The emperor then recited the letter sent him by Piso. It was conceived almost in these words: "Oppressed by a combination of my enemies and the odium of falsely imputed crimes; since no place is left here for truth and my innocence; to the immortal gods I appeal, that towards you, Cæsar, I have lived with sincere faith, nor towards your mother with less reverence. For my sons I implore her protection and yours: my son Cneius had no share in the events laid to my charge, of whatsoever character they were, since,

during the whole time, he abode at Rome: and my son Marcus dissuaded me from returning to Syria. Oh that, old as I am, I had yielded to him, rather than he, young as he is, to me! Hence the more earnestly I pray that innocent as he is, he be not involved in the punishment of my guilt: by my devoted services for five and forty years, I entreat you; I, who formerly during my fellowship in the consulship with the deified Augustus, your father, enjoyed his approbation and your friendship; I, who shall never ask a favour of you hereafter, implore your mercy for my unhappy son." Of Plancina he said nothing.

17. Tiberius, upon this, cleared the young man of any participation in the guilt of the civil war, alleging that he had acted under "the orders of his father, which a son could not disobey," at the same time bewailing "that noble house, and even the melancholy fate of Piso himself, howsoever deserved." For Plancina he pleaded with shame and guilt, alleging the importunity of his mother; against whom the secret complaints of all the worthiest citizens burst forth with augmented vehemence. "Was it then right for a grandmother to admit to her sight the murderess of her grandson, to hold converse with her, and rescue her from the vengeance of the senate? To Germanicus alone was denied what by the laws was granted to every citizen. By Vitellius and Veranius, the fate of that prince was mourned and his cause pleaded; by the emperor and his mother, Plancina was defended. Henceforth she might turn her infernal arts so successfully tried, and her poisons, upon Agrippina and her children; and, with the blood of that most miserable house, satiate this exemplary grandmother and uncle." Two days were thus wasted in the semblance of a trial; Tiberius animating the sons of Piso to protect their mother. When the pleaders and witnesses had zealously pushed the charge, as no one replied in her defence, commiseration was increased rather than hatred. The consul Aurelius Cotta was first asked his opinion; (for when the emperor collected the voices, the magistrates likewise voted):¹ his sentence was, "that the

¹ In the time of the republic, the consul, who presided in the senate, put the question to the fathers in every debate; but he neither called upon his colleague, nor the prætors, nor any of the acting magistrates. He addressed himself to the prince of the senate, the consuls elect,

name of Piso should be erased from the annals, part of his estate confiscated, part granted to his son Cneius, upon changing that name; that his son Marcus be divested of his dignity, and, taking fifty thousand great sesterces for his support, be banished for ten years: and that to Plancina indemnity should be granted, in consideration of the prayer of Augusta."

18. Much of this sentence was abated by the emperor; as that of striking Piso's name out of the annals, when "that of Mark Antony, who made war upon his country; that of Julius Antonius,¹ who had violated the house of Augustus, continued still there." He also exempted Marcus Piso from ignominy, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often observed, he was tolerably proof against the temptation of money, and, at that time, from shame at having screened Plancina, he was the more disposed to mercy. He likewise withstood the motion of Valerius Messalinus, "for erecting a golden statue in the temple of Mars the Avenger;" and that of Cæcina Severus, "for founding an altar to Revenge." "Such monuments as these," he insisted, "were only fit to be raised upon foreign victories; domestic calamities should be buried in the grief which attended them." Messalinus had added, "that to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, public thanks should be rendered for having revenged the death of Germanicus;" but had omitted to mention Claudius. Messalinus was asked by Lucius Asprenas, in the presence of the senate, "whether he was aware that he had omitted him?" and then at length the name of Claudius was subjoined. The more I meditate on the events of ancient or modern times, the more I am struck with the capricious uncertainty which mocks the calculations of men in all their transactions: for there was

and after them to the members of consular rank, and in regular succession to the rest of the senate. The reason of this arrangement seems to have been an idea that the magistrates, if they took the lead, would have too much influence on the rest of the assembly. After the change of government, the same practice continued, with this difference: if the emperor attended the debates in the senate, he, of course, was the supreme magistrate; and in that case it was his to collect the voices. He began with the consuls actually in office, and proceeded to the other magistrates according to their rank.

¹ See Annals, book, iv. a. 44.

not a man who was not thought more likely to succeed to the throne, whether from his fame, his promise, or public veneration, than he whom Fortune treasured up in her secret counsels as the future prince.

19. A few days after, Vitellius, Vêranus, and Severus, were by the senate preferred to the honours of the priesthood, at the motion of Tiberius. To Fulcinus he promised his suffrage for preferment, but advised him "not to embarrass his eloquence by impetuosity." Here was the termination of the proceedings for avenging the death of Germanicus; an affair which had been the subject of every variety of misrepresentation, not by those only who then lived, but likewise in succeeding times: so true is it that all transactions of pre-eminent importance are wrapt in doubt and obscurity; while some hold for certain facts the most precarious hearsays, others turn facts into falsehood; and both are exaggerated by posterity. Drusus went out of the city to renew the auspices, and presently entered it in ovation. A few days after died Vipsania, his mother; the only one of the children of Agrippa who died a natural death: the rest manifestly perished, or are believed to have perished, by the sword, poison, or famine.

20. The same year, Tacfarinas, whom I have mentioned to have been defeated the former summer by Camillus, renewed the war in Africa; first by desultory incursions for the purposes of devastation, so sudden that they escaped unchastised; next, by sacking towns and bearing away large booty; at last, he besets a Roman cohort, at a small distance from the river Pagida. The fort they occupied was commanded by Decrius, an active and experienced soldier, who regarded this siege as a dishonour. Encouraging his men to offer battle on the open plain, he drew them up without the walls: at the first shock the cohort was repulsed; but the resolute Decrius braved the enemy's darts, opposed the runaways, and upbraided the standard-bearers, "that upon vagabonds and undisciplined robbers the Roman soldiers turned their backs." At the same time he received several wounds; and, though his eye was pierced through, he faced the foe, nor ceased fighting till, deserted by his men, he was slain.

21. Lucius Apronius had succeeded Camillus. As soon as he learnt this defeat, grieved rather at the disgrace of his own

men than the glory of the enemy, he practised a severity, at this time rare, and founded on the example of ancient times;¹ beating to death with a cudgel every tenth man of that degraded cohort, drawn by lot; and such was the benefit of this rigour, that those very forces of Tacfarinas, as they assaulted the fortress of Thala, were routed by a body of not more than five hundred veterans. In this battle, Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, acquired the glory of saving a citizen, and was by Apronius presented with the spear and collar: Tiberius added the civic crown, complaining rather than offended, that Apronius had not, in his own right as proconsul, granted that also. Tacfarinas, as the Numidians were dismayed and set against sieges, adopted a desultory mode of war; retiring when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the barbarian observed this method, without sustaining any loss himself, he mocked the baffled and harassed Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, being prevented from moving by the quantities of plunder, he pitched a camp and remained there. Hither Apronius Cesianus was by his father despatched with the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, to which he had added the most active of the legionary foot; and, having successfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deserts.

22. At Rome, Emilia Lepida, who, besides the nobleness of the Emilian family, was great-granddaughter to Pompey and Sylla, was charged with feigning that she had given birth to a child by Publius Quirinus, her husband, a man rich and childless. She was further charged with "adulteries, poisonings, and treasonable dealings with the Chaldeans about the fate and continuance of the imperial house." Her brother, Manius Lepidus, defended her; and guilty and infamous as she was, the persecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compassion upon her. In this trial, it was no easy matter to discover the heart of Tiberius; with such subtlety he blended and disguised the symptoms of

¹ Appius Claudius, consul A. U. C. 259, commanded in the war against the Volsci. The soldiers, regardless of discipline and subordination, paid no respect to their officers, and, in consequence of their contumacy, suffered a defeat. As soon as they returned to their camp, Claudius punished the ringleaders with death, and decimated the rest of his army. "*Cætera multitudo, sorte decimus quisque, ad supplicium lecit.*"—Liv. lib. ii. s. 59.

indignation and clemency. At first he besought the senate "not to meddle with the articles of treason;" and presently engaged Marcus Servilius, once consul, and the other witnesses, to produce the very evidences of treason which he had desired to suppress: and yet, he took the slaves of Lepida from the guard of soldiers, and transferred them to the consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examined by torture, as to her practices against his own house: he even excused Drusus from voting first, as consul elect. This some understood as a concession to civil equality, "that the rest might not be obliged to follow the example of Drusus;" some ascribed it to cruelty, "for that he would not have surrendered his privilege except he had meant to condemn her."

23. The public games interrupted the trial, when Lepida, accompanied with other ladies of distinguished quality, entered the theatre;¹ and with doleful lamentations invoking her ancestors, and Pompey himself, whose statues stood round in view, and who raised those monuments he saw, she excited such universal commiseration, that the spectators burst into tears, and gave vent to angry and direful imprecations against Quirinus, "to whose childless old age and mean extraction, a lady once designed for the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and for the daughter-in-law of the deified Augustus, was given." At last, by putting her slaves to the rack, her crimes were made manifest, and the judgment of Rubellius Blandus prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment Drusus assented, though others had proposed a milder. That her estate should not be forfeited, was shortly after granted to Scaurus, who by her had had a daughter; and now, after condemnation, Tiberius divulged the fact, that "from the slaves too of Quirinus he had learnt her attempts to poison him."

24. As a consolation to the illustrious families of Rome for their late calamities (for the Calpurnian house had suffered the loss of Piso, and just after, the Æmilian house that of Lepida), Decius Silanus was now restored to the Julian family. I will briefly recite his disgrace. As, against the republic, the fortune of Augustus carried all before it, so in his family it was unhappy, on account of the lewdness of his daughter and

¹ The Theatre of Pompey, dedicated A.U.C. 669. For a further account of this building, capable, according to Pliny (*lib xxxv. a. 15*), of holding forty thousand persons, see *Annals*, book *xiv. a. 20*.

granddaughter, whom he banished the city, punishing with death or exile their adulterers. For, by giving to a fault common between men and women, the heinous name of sacrilege and treason, he departed from the lenity of our ancestors and his own laws. But I shall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his severity, as also the other transactions of that time, if, having finished my present undertaking, life remains for other studies. Silanus, who had debauched the granddaughter of Augustus, though the only punishment inflicted on him was, to be excluded from the friendship and presence of the emperor, yet understood this as a denunciation of banishment; nor durst he, till the reign of Tiberius, supplicate the prince and the senate for leave to return, through the influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who was pre-eminently distinguished by his illustrious rank and eloquence. Marcus having returned thanks to Tiberius, had this answer from him before the senate,—“that he himself also rejoiced that his brother was returned after a long absence; and justly was it permitted him, since neither by decree of the senate, nor by any law, had he been banished; that he himself, however, retained entire the resentment of his father towards him, nor by the return of Silanus were the resolutions of Augustus cancelled. Thenceforward he remained at Rome, but obtained no honours.

25. A mitigation of the law *Papia Poppæa*¹ was next proposed,—a law which Augustus had made when in years, in support of the Julian laws, for punishing celibacy and enriching the exchequer. Nor even by this means did marriages and the bringing up of children become more in vogue, the advantage of having no children to inherit outweighing the penalty of disobedience; however, the numbers endangered by it increased, while by the glosses of informers every family was suffering. So that, as before the city laboured under the weight of crimes, so now under the pest of laws. From this circumstance I am induced to investigate the first rise of laws,

¹ The law *Papia Poppæa* derived its name from two consuls who were the authors of it; namely, Marcus Papius Mutilus, and Quintus Poppæus, A. U. C. 762, the ninth of the Christian era. Dio observes that the two consuls had neither wife nor children; and for that reason a law which imposed penalties on celibacy, and rewarded the married state, was the more acceptable, because disinterested.

and show how it was that this countless multitude and variety of laws were introduced.

26. The first race of men, free as yet from every depraved passion, lived without reproach and crimes, and therefore without chastisements and restraints; nor was there occasion for rewards, when from their own natural inclination they pursued things honourable; and where they coveted nothing inordinately, they were prohibited from nothing by fear. But, after they had put off their original equality, and instead of moderation and diffidence, ambition and violence entered in, sovereignties sprang up, and in many nations continued without intermission. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were surfeited with tyrants, preferred the government of laws, which, in those early ages, when the minds of men were unsophisticated, were plain and simple. The laws in most renown were those framed for the Cretans by Minos, for the Spartans by Lycurgus, and afterwards that more elaborate and extended code which Solon composed for the Athenians. Romulus ruled over us Romans according to his own pleasure; after him, Numa managed the people by religious devices and divine law. Some institutions were introduced by Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius; but Servius Tullius stands preeminent as the founder of laws which the kings themselves were bound to obey.

27. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the people resorted to many expedients for the security of their freedom against the cabals of the senate, and to consolidate the interests of the different orders of the state; hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were composed the Twelve Tables, that consummation of equitable legislation, in which were adopted whatever excellences could be found in any other codes in existence. For the laws which were made in after times, though sometimes framed to meet the crimes of offenders as they arose, yet more frequently were carried in a violent manner, and during the conflicts of the different orders, from a desire of obtaining unpermitted honours, or getting rid of illustrious men, and for other sinister objects. Hence the Gracchi and Saturnini, those excitors of the people; and hence Drusus, in the name of the senate, vying with them in largesses; hence the allies seduced to espouse his cause by the hope of obtaining the freedom of the city, or rather mocked

and deceived by the veto of the tribunes. Neither during the Italian war, nor during the civil war which followed, was the practice discontinued; but many and contradictory laws were then made; till at length Sylla, the dictator, changing or abolishing the past, added many of his own, and procured some respite in this matter, but not for long; for presently followed the turbulent propositions of Lepidus, and soon after to the tribunes¹ was restored their extravagant power of raising commotions among the people by whatsoever means they pleased. And now laws were not made for the public only, but for particular men; and in the most corrupt period of the commonwealth the greatest number of laws were made.

28. Cneius Pompey, in his third consulship, was chosen to correct the public enormities; but his remedies proved more unsupportable than its distempers. He was at once the maker and the violator of his own laws, and what he had acquired by arms he lost by the same means. Henceforward for twenty years discord raged, neither unwritten nor written law had any force; the most wicked found impunity in the excess of their wickedness; and many virtuous men perished in their uprightness. At length, Augustus Cæsar in his sixth consulship, then confirmed in power, abolished the orders which during the triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler. From that time the bonds of slavery were drawn closer: spies were appointed, who by the law *Papia Poppæa* were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges of marriage, in order that the state, as the common parent, might obtain their vacant possessions. But these informers went beyond the intention of the law, and had got into their clutches the city, Italy, and the Roman citizens in every

¹ Sylla, seeing that the tribunes made an ill use of their power, reduced those magistrates within due bounds. Pompey, in his consulship, A.U.C. 684, re-established the tribunitian power. Speaking of this act, Cicero says he was in the habit of mentioning Pompey, upon all occasions, with the highest commendation; but, with regard to the tribunitian power he chose to be silent. He was not willing to condemn that measure, and to approve was not in his power. "*Pompeium nostrum cæteris rebus omnibus semper amplissimis eumisque effero laudibus. De tribunitia potestate taceo; nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum.*"—Cicero, *De Legibus*, lib. iii. cap. 9.

part of the empire : numbers were stripped of their entire fortunes, and all had the terror of them before their eyes ; when Tiberius chose by lot five of consular rank, five of prætorian, with ten other senators, to apply a remedy ; by whom most of its intricacies were explained ; which afforded some alleviation of the pressing mischief.

29. Tiberius about this time recommended to the favour of the senate Nero, one of the children of Germanicus, now entered on the state of manhood ; and, with the ridicule of those who heard him, desired "that he might be exempted from executing the office of the vigintivirate,"¹ and have leave to put up for the quæstorship five years sooner than the laws directed." Tiberius pretended "that the same indulgences had been decreed to himself and his brother Drusus, at the request of Augustus." Nor do I doubt but there were at that time those who secretly ridiculed such petitions ; although then the foundations of the lofty power of the Cæsars were but being laid, the ancient custom was fresher in the recollection ; and the relation between Augustus and his wife's sons was slighter than between a grandfather and his grandsons. A seat in the pontifical college was given in addition ; and the first day he entered the forum a gratuity was presented to the people, who were much pleased in beholding a son of Germanicus now of age. After that their joy was heightened by his marriage with Julia, the daughter of Drusus. But as these events were received with approbation, so the intended marriage of the daughter of Sejanus with the son of Claudius excited dissatisfaction. Tiberius seemed to have polluted the nobility of the Claudian house by it ; and further to have increased the influence of Sejanus, already suspected of aspiring views.

¹ Dio informs us, that while Augustus, after all his victories, was still absent from Rome, the senate, by a decree, established a new magistracy, consisting of twenty, to superintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments : three to sit in judgment ; three to direct the coinage ; four to superintend the public ways ; and ten to preside in such causes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Augustus, and became the previous step to the higher magistracies. The time for entering on the quæstorship was at the age of twenty-four ; consequently, Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, might begin his career of honour when turned of nineteen.

30. In the latter part of this year died Lucius Volusius and Sallustius Crispus; distinguished characters. The family of Volusius was ancient, but rose no higher than the prætorship; it was he who honoured it with the consulship; and was likewise created censor for modelling the classes of the equestrian order; he also laid the foundation of the wealth which that family enjoyed in so boundless a degree. Crispus, who was of an equestrian house, and great-nephew by a sister to Caius Sallustius, that most renowned Roman historian, was adopted by him; and though the way to the great offices was open to him, yet, in imitation of Mæcenas, without the dignity of senator, he surpassed in influence many who were distinguished by consulships and triumphs: differing from the custom of ancient times in his style of living and the elegance of his habits; and, in expense and affluence, bordering upon luxury. But beneath this gay exterior was an energy of mind equal to the greatest affairs, which exerted itself the more in proportion as he made a show of indolence and sloth: he was, therefore, in the lifetime of Mæcenas, the next in favour, afterwards chief confidant in all the secret counsels of Augustus and Tiberius, and privy to the order for slaying Agrippa Posthumus; in his old age, he preserved with the prince rather the appearance than the influence of authority. The same had happened to Mæcenas. It is the fate of power rarely to be lasting; perhaps from satiety in both, when princes have no more to grant, and ministers no more to crave.

31. Next followed the consulship of Tiberius and Drusus; to Tiberius the fourth, to Drusus the second: remarkable from father and son being colleagues—for the same fellowship in the office between Tiberius and Germanicus, two years before, was neither gratifying to the uncle, nor were they so closely connected by relationship. In the beginning of the year, Tiberius, on pretence of reinstating his health, retired to Campania; whether it was that he would gradually prepare himself for a long and lasting retirement, or to leave to Drusus, in his father's absence, the execution of the consulship alone: and, as it happened, a trifling circumstance which led to a serious contest, afforded the young consul materials for ingratiating himself with the public. Domitius Corbulo, formerly prætor, complained to the senate of Lucius

Sylla, a noble youth, "that in the show of gladiators he would not yield him place." His years, the national custom, and the zealous support of the old men, formed the advantages of Corbulo: on the other side, Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and others, laboured for their kinsman Sylla: they argued the matter warmly, and the examples of our ancestors were urged, "who by severe decrees had censured irreverence in youth." Till at length Drusus interposed with remarks calculated to sooth their animosities, and Corbulo had satisfaction made him by Scaurus,¹ who was both father-in-law and uncle to Sylla, and the most copious orator of that age. The same Corbulo, exclaiming against "the condition of most of the roads through Italy, that through the fraud of the contractors and negligence of the magistrates, they were interrupted and impassable;" willingly undertook the execution of the business; but executed it not so much to the convenience of the public as to the ruin of many on whose properties and reputation he made ruthless havoc by his convictions and confiscations.

32. Soon after, Tiberius by a letter acquainted the senate, "that by the incursions of Tacfarinas fresh commotions had arisen in Africa; and that they must select for proconsul a man of military experience, of vigorous constitution, and who would be equal to the war." Sextus Pompeius, taking this occasion to discharge his hate, reproached Marcus Lepidus as dastardly, indigent, a disgrace to his ancestors, and, therefore, to be divested even of the government of Asia, his province by lot."² But the senate opposed him; they considered Lepidus as a man rather mild than indolent; and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeathed to him, but not impaired by him, he preserved his dignity without reproach, he merited honour rather than contumely: he was therefore sent to

¹ For more of Mamercus Scaurus, a man famous for his talents at the bar, but detested for his vicious course of life, see *Annals*, book vi. a. 29.

² It has been already mentioned that Augustus, having reserved some provinces for his own management, resigned the rest to the senate. Asia and Africa were in the number assigned to the fathers, and were always considered as consular governments. Two, who had discharged the office of consul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule, however, was waved in sudden emergencies, and a proconsul was sent without any form of election or ballot.

Asia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed that the appointment of a governor should be left to the emperor.

33. In the course of the debate, Cæcina Severus proposed, "that no magistrate should go into any province accompanied by his wife." He introduced this motion with a long preface, "that he lived with his own in perfect concord, by her he had six children; and what he was establishing as a law for all, he had observed at home, having during forty years' service confined her to Italy. It was not, indeed, without cause established of old, that women should not be taken into allied nations or foreign. A train of women introduced luxury in peace, by their fears retarded war, and made a Roman army resemble in their march the stately progress of Barbarians. The sex was not only delicate and unequal to fatigue, but, if suffered, cruel, aspiring, and greedy of authority: that they walked among the troops, and had the centurions at their beck. A woman¹ had lately presided at the exercises of the troops, and at the decursions of the legions. The senate themselves should consider that as often as any of the magistrates were charged with plundering the provinces, their wives were the chief offenders. To the ladies the most profligate in the province immediately attached themselves; by them all affairs were undertaken and transacted: that two persons were to be attended when they went out, and there were two courts of justice; but the orders of the ladies were the more peremptory and capricious. Such excesses were formerly restrained by the Oppian² and other laws; but now, these barriers removed, women ruled all things, their families, the courts of justice, and, at length, even the armies."

34. This proposition was heard by few with approbation; more met it with clamorous objections, urging "that neither was it regularly laid before the senate, nor was Cæcina of sufficient consideration to originate a reform in so grave

¹ Plancina, the wife of Piso.

² Caius Oppius, tribune of the people A.U.C. 541, was the author of a law by which the women were laid under several restrictions in the articles of dress and other expenses. The law was repealed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cato the censor, A.U.C. 559. See Livy, lib. xxxiv. s. 38. But still it was thought necessary that the female sex should be held within due bounds, and other sumptuary laws were enacted.

a matter." He was soon after answered by Valerius Messalinus, who was the son of Messala, and the eloquence of the father was reflected in the son. He said,—“that many rigorous institutions of the ancients were softened, and changed for the better : for, neither was Rome now, as of old, beset with wars, nor the provinces in arms ; and a few concessions were made to the conveniences of the gentler sex, who were so far from burdening the provinces, that they were not felt in the private expenditure of their husbands. As to honours, attendance, and expense, they enjoyed them in common with their husbands, who could receive no embarrassment from their company in time of peace. To war, indeed, we must go equipped and unencumbered ; but after the fatigues of war, what relief was more honourable than that which a wife afforded ? But some wives had given loose to ambition and avarice ! What ! were not most of the magistrates themselves chargeable with various excesses ? we did not therefore send none into the provinces. Husbands were often corrupted by the vices of their wives ; and were, therefore, all single men untainted by such influences ? The Oppian laws were formerly passed, because the condition of the times required them ; such restrictions were afterwards somewhat relaxed and mollified, because it was expedient. In vain we covered our own supineness with borrowed names : if the wife ran into excess, the husband was to blame. It was, moreover, unreasonable, for the weak and uxorious spirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the natural partners of their prosperity and distress. Besides, the sex, weak by nature, would be left defenceless, abandoned to their natural extravagance, and the solicitations of adulterers. Scarcely under the eye and restraint of the husband, was the marriage bed preserved inviolate ; what must be the consequence, when, by an absence of many years, the obligations of marriage should be enfeebled, as in a divorce ? It became them so to proceed against abuses abroad, as not to forget the enormities at Rome.” To this Drusus added somewhat concerning his own married state : “Princes,” he said, “were frequently obliged to visit the remote parts of the empire : how often did the deified Augustus travel to the east, how often to the west, accompanied by Livia ! He himself too had made a progress to Illyricum, and, if it were expedient, was ready to visit other nations ; but not always contentedly if he were to be torn

from his wife, who was most dear to him, and by whom he had so many children." Thus was Cæcina's motion eluded.

35. When the senate met next, they had a letter from Tiberius, indirectly rebuking the fathers, "that they cast upon him all the public cares;" and named M' Lepidus and Junius Blæsus, one of whom they should choose as proconsul of Africa. They were then both heard; when Lepidus excused himself with earnestness, pretending "his infirm constitution, the tender age of his children, and a daughter fit for marriage." There was another reason too, of which he said nothing; but it was easily understood: Blæsus was the uncle of Sejanus, and therefore had the prevailing interest. Blæsus, too, made a show of refusing, but not with the same pertinacity, and he was not assisted in his repugnance by the acquiescence of those who wished to flatter him.

36. After this a grievance was brought to light which had hitherto only been matter of suppressed dissatisfaction. It had become a practice for the most abandoned characters to assume the privilege of slandering and maligning good men, under the protection of Cæsar's statue, to which they fled as a sanctuary:¹ even slaves and freedmen were, out of all reason, objects of terror to their masters or patrons, even when they had insulted and threatened them. Against this abuse it was argued by Caius Sestius a senator, "that princes were indeed as the gods; but by the gods just petitions only were heard: nor did any one betake himself to the Capitol, or the other temples of Rome, that under their shelter he might exercise villanies. That the laws were a dead letter, and utterly subverted, if in the public forum, nay, at the threshold of the senate, Annia Rufilla, whom he had prosecuted to conviction for forgery, could abuse and threaten him: neither durst he seek relief from the law, for that she protected herself with the emperor's statue." Others urged similar complaints, and some beset Drusus with clamorous representations of more aggravated cases, and besought him to hold up a salutary example in the punishment of the offenders; when he ordered her to be summoned, and on her conviction to be committed to the public prison.

¹ This is the rendering of the passage by all the English translators; we are, however, inclined to think, with Dr. Nipperdey, that "*arrepta imagine Cæsaris*" may here signify, "under the *pretext* that the Emperor was concerned:" the word *image* being used, not in its literal, but metaphorical sense.

37. *Considius Equus*, too, and *Cœlius Cursor*, Roman knights, were, at the motion of *Drusus*, punished by a decree of the senate, for forging a charge of treason against the prætor *Magius Cæcilianus*. From both these events, *Drusus* reaped applause; it was said, "that by his living thus sociably at Rome, and mixing in company, the closeness and reserve of his father were compensated." Neither did the luxury in which the young prince lived give much offence. "Let him," it was said, "rather thus employ his days in shows, his nights in banqueting, than, in dismal solitude and secluded from all pleasure, wear himself out in gloomy suspicions and meditations of mischief."

38. For neither *Tiberius* nor the informers were weary of their efforts. *Ancharius Priscus* had accused *Cæsius Cordus*, proconsul of Crete, of official plunder, with an additional charge of high treason; a charge which at that time formed the universal resource in accusations.¹ *Antistius Vetus*, a nobleman of the first rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery and absolved: this offended *Tiberius*, who reproached the judges, and recalled him to be tried for treason, as a disturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king *Rhescuporis*, when having slain his brother *Cotys*, he meditated war against us. So that *Vetus* was condemned, and interdicted from fire and water: to this sentence it was added, "that he should be confined to an island not affording an easy passage either to Macedonia or Thrace." For, upon the division of that kingdom between *Rhemetalles* and the sons of *Cotys*, who on account of their youth had for their guardian *Trebellienus Rufus*, the Thracians, not used to our government, were in a state of discontent and hostility; nor did they less censure *Rhemetalles* than *Trebellienus*, for leaving unpunished the wrongs of their countrymen. The *Cœletæans*, *Odryæans*, and others, powerful nations, took up arms, under different captains, but equally unknown to fame. For this

¹ Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor *Trajan*, says that neither the laws enacted in the consulship of *Voconius*, nor the Julian law, conduced so much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treasury, as the charge of violated majesty, too often the only charge against those who were free from every crime. "*Lupulebant et fœcum et ærarium non tam Voconis et Julis leges, quam majestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum qui primine vacarent.*"—Pliny, in Paneg. s. 42.

reason, their armies were not united so as to give a formidable character to the war : some excited to a revolt at home, others traversed Mount Hæmus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces : the greatest part and best appointed, besieged Philippopolis, (a city founded by Philip of Macedon,) and in it king Rhemetalces.

39. Publius Velleius, who commanded the army in the neighbouring province, hearing of this, despatched the auxiliary horse and light foot; some against those who roamed about for plunder, or to obtain succours : he himself led the flower of the infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprises were at once successfully executed : the plundering parties were cut off; a division arose amongst the besiegers, and the king fortunately made a sortie just as the Roman forces arrived. But it deserves not to be called a regular battle, nor a battle of any sort, where men half armed and stragglers were slaughtered, without blood on our side.

40. The same year the states of Gaul, stimulated by their excessive debts, began a rebellion. The most active incendiaries were Julius Florus among the Treveri, and Julius Sacrovir among the Æduans. They were both distinguished by their nobility, and by the good services of their ancestors, and were therefore formerly presented with the freedom of the city; a privilege rare in those days, and then only the reward of virtue. When by secret conferences they had gained all the most daring, with such as were desperate through indigence, or from guilt of past crimes forced to commit more, they agreed that Florus should begin the insurrection in Belgium, Sacrovir amongst the neighbouring Gauls. In order to this, going about to places of public resort and meetings of the people, they uttered seditious harangues; representing "their tribute without end, their oppressive usury, the insolence and cruelty of their governors; further, that since the report of the murder of Germanicus, dissension prevailed among the Roman soldiery; that to be convinced that a rare opportunity of recovering their liberty now presented itself, they need only consider, whereas they were themselves in a flourishing state, how poor and exhausted was Italy; the Roman populace how weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies how destitute of all vigour but that derived from foreigners.

41. Scarcely one city remained untainted with the seeds of

this rebellion; but it first broke out among the Andecavii and the Turonii. The former were reduced by Acilius Aviola, a legate, with the assistance of a cohort drawn from the garrison at Lyons. The latter were suppressed by the same Aviola, with some legionary troops sent by Visellius Varro, lieutenant-governor of lower Germany. Some of the chiefs of the Gauls had likewise joined him with succours, the better to disguise their defection, and to advance it with more effect at a convenient time. Even Sacrovir was seen animating the troops to fight for the Romans, with his head bare, a demonstration, he pretended, of his bravery; but the prisoners maintained, that "he did it to be known to his countrymen, and to escape their darts." An account of all this was laid before Tiberius, who repudiated it as unauthentic, and by his indecision gave increased vigour to the war.

42. Florus meanwhile followed up his designs, and tried to entice a regiment of horse levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and discipline, to begin the war by putting to the sword the Roman bankers; and a few were corrupted, but the body remained in their allegiance. In another part a rabble of his followers and debtors took arms, and were making for the forest called Ardenna, when the legions sent from both armies by Visellius and Caius Silius by opposite routes intercepted them; and Julius Indus, one of the same city with Florus, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to perform the service, being sent forward with a chosen band, further routed the ill-appointed multitude. Florus, by shifting from one hiding-place to another, frustrated the search of the conquerors; but at last, when he saw all the passes beset with soldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the issue of the insurrection of the Treviri.

43. Amongst the Æduans the revolt was an affair of more magnitude, in proportion as the state was more opulent, and the forces to suppress it lay at a greater distance. Augustodunum, the capital of the nation, was seized by Sacrovir, and in it all the most illustrious youth of Gaul, who were there occupied in learning the liberal arts. By securing these pledges he aimed at attaching to his interest their parents and relations; and at the same time distributed to the young men arms which he had caused to be secretly made. He had forty thousand men, the fifth part armed like our legions, the

rest with poles, hangers, and other weapons used by hunters. To the number were added such of the slaves as had been appointed to be gladiators; these were covered, after the fashion of the country, with a complete plate of iron, and styled *Crupellarii*; too much encumbered to use their own weapons, and yet impenetrable by those of others. These forces were still increased by volunteers from the neighbouring cities, where, though the public body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of individuals exerted itself; they had likewise leisure to increase, from the contention of the two Roman generals,¹ who were disputing which should take the conduct of the war, while each demanded it. At length Varro, old and infirm, yielded to the superior vigour of Silius.

44. Now at Rome was reported, "not only the insurrection of the Treveri and of the *Æduans*, but likewise, that sixty-four cities of Gaul had revolted; that the Germans had joined in the confederacy, and that Spain was wavering; all which was believed in this exaggerated form, as is usual in matters of rumour. All the worthiest men grieved, from concern for their country; many, from hatred of the present state of things and thirst for change, rejoiced even in their own perils; they inveighed against Tiberius, "that in a commotion so extensive, he spent his time upon the informations of the state accusers." They asked, "would Julius Sacrovir be tried for treason before the senate?" They exulted "that there were at last found men who would with arms restrain the bloody orders for private murders," and declared "that even war was a happy change for a miserable peace." So much the more studiously Tiberius assumed an air of security and unconcern; neither changing his place nor countenance, but conducting himself at that critical time as at others; whether it arose from the depth of his dissimulation, or that he had learnt that it was no great matter, and of less importance than rumour represented it.

45. Silius meanwhile sent forward a band of auxiliaries, and marching slowly with two legions ravaged the villages of the *Sequanians*, a people at the extreme confines of Gaul, bordering upon the *Æduans*, and their associates in arms. He then advanced rapidly towards *Augustodunum*; the

¹ *Visellius Varro* commanded on the Lower Rhine, and *Caius Silius* on the Upper.

standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men indignantly desiring "that they might not wait to take their usual repose, nor intermit their march by night; let them only see and confront the foe, they wanted no more to be victorious." Twelve miles from Augustodunum Sacrovir appeared with his forces upon the plains; in the front he had placed his troops in iron armour, his cohorts in the wings, the half-armed in the rear; he himself, on a superb charger, and attended by the other chiefs, rode from rank to rank, and addressing them, reminded them "of the glorious achievements of the ancient Gauls; the defeats they had given the Romans; how honourable their liberty regained by victory, and how much more intolerable than servitude if again subdued."

46. The speech was brief, and the hearers out of heart, for the embattled legions approached, while the crowd of townsmen, ill-appointed and novices in war, were scarcely collected enough to see or hear. On the other side, Silius, although the confidence with which the completion of their hopes was anticipated, rendered exhortation unnecessary, yet called to his men, "that they might be with reason ashamed that they, the conquerors of Germany, should be thus led against a rabble of Gauls as against an equal enemy; one cohort had lately defeated the Turonian rebel; one regiment of horse the Trevirian; a handful of this very army had routed the Sequanians; and now as to the Æduans, since as they are more exuberant in wealth, and prodigal in voluptuousness, they are so much the more unwarlike, show how far you are superior to them, but spare those who fly from the field." His words were received with a mighty cry. Instantly the horse attacked the foe on both flanks; the foot attacked their front; the business was soon settled in the wings; the men in iron armour stood their ground for a while, as their iron plates resisted the strokes of sword and pike; but the soldiers had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes, and, as if they had battered a wall, hewed their bodies and armour; others with clubs, or forks, beat down the unwieldy mass, and as they lay stretched along without the least power to raise themselves up, they were left like dead men. Sacrovir fled first to Augustodunum; and thence, fearful of being surrendered, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his most faithful

adherents; there he slew himself, and the rest smote each other, having first set fire to the town over their heads, in the flames of which they were all consumed.

47. Then at length Tiberius wrote to the senate about this war, and at once acquainted them with its rise and conclusion, neither aggravating nor extenuating the facts, but added, "that it was conducted by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants, and that he had himself aided them by his counsels." He likewise assigned the reasons why neither he nor Drusus went to that war; alleging in lofty terms "the great extent of the empire, and urging that it became not the dignity of a prince, upon the revolt of one or two towns, to desert the capital, which was the source of government to the whole; but now that he could not be supposed to be under any apprehension, he would go and look into the state of those nations and adjust their affairs." The senate decreed vows and supplications for his return, with other marks of honour. Only Cornelius Dolabella, while he strove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous sycophancy, and moved, "that from Campania he should enter Rome in ovation." This was followed by a letter from Tiberius, in which he declared, "he was not so destitute of glory, that after having in his youth subdued the fiercest nations, and enjoyed or slighted so many triumphs, he should now in his old age seek empty honours from a short progress about the suburbs of Rome."

48. About the same time he desired of the senate that "the decease of Sulpicius Quirinus¹ might be celebrated by a public funeral." Quirinus was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town, and nowise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii; but being a brave soldier, was for his active services rewarded with the consulship under Augustus, and soon after with a triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their strongholds in Cilicia; next, when the young Caius Cæsar was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his governor, and at the same time had paid court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the emperor represented now to the senate; he extolled the kind offices of Quirinus, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverse behaviour of Caius Cæsar to himself, and of all the jarring between them. But the memory of Quirinus was

¹ See above, s. 22.

not agreeable to the rest of the senate, by reason of the danger he brought upon Lepida, as I have before related, and his sordid meanness and overbearing conduct in the latter part of his life.

49. At the end of the year, Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, who had composed a celebrated poem, bewailing the death of Germanicus, and received a reward from Tiberius, was laid hold of by an informer. His charge was, "that during an illness of Drusus he had composed another, which, if the distemper proved fatal, he hoped to publish with a reward still greater." This poem Lutorius had, in the fulness of vanity, rehearsed at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and many other ladies of quality: when the informer appeared, the other witnesses yielded to their fears and gave testimony: Vitellia alone persisted that she had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to destroy him had most credit; and it was the sentence of Haterius Agrippa, consul elect, that the accused should suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

50. This was opposed by M' Lepidus, who spoke on this wise:—"Conscript fathers, if we only regard with what abominable effusions Lutorius Priscus has defiled his own soul and the ears of men; neither dungeon, nor rope, nor even the punishments peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But though immoralities and enormities exceed all measure, yet the clemency of the prince, and the precedent of our ancestors and yourselves, moderate the severity of punishments and remedial visitations; there is a difference between vanity and villany, empty words and nefarious deeds; there is room left for a middle judgment, by which neither his offence need escape unpunished, nor we repent either of our lenity or our severity. I have often heard our prince bewailing the event, when any criminal had, by a voluntary death, prevented the exercise of his mercy. The life of Lutorius is still untouched: to save it will not endanger the state; to take it away will be of no benefit as an example to others. His pursuits, as they exhibit nothing but the creation of a disordered imagination, so are they powerless and ephemeral; nor is anything important or serious to be apprehended from one who thus betrays his own follies, and seeks to work upon the minds, not of men, but silly women; let him, however, be banished from

Rome, interdicted from fire and water, and forfeit his goods : and this punishment I award him, in like manner as if he were convicted of high treason."

51. Among those of consular rank, only Rubellius Blandus assented to this opinion of Lepidus, the rest voted with Agrippa. Priscus was led to the dungeon and instantly put to death. Tiberius complained before the senate in his usual see-saw style; he magnified "their loyalty in avenging thus with severity injuries done to the prince, though slight;" but he entreated them "not to be so precipitate in punishing for mere words;" he praised Lepidus, and censured not Agrippa. Hence a decree was made, "that the decrees of senate should not in less than ten days be carried to the treasury, and that the life of the condemned should be spared for that interval." But to the senate was given no liberty of revising their judgments, nor was Tiberius ever softened by time.

52. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls. Their year was exempt from disturbances abroad; but at home some severe measures were apprehended against luxury, which was carried beyond all bounds in everything which involved a profuse expenditure. But the more pernicious instances of extravagance were covered, as the cost was generally a secret; while from the sums spent in gluttony and revelry, as they were the subject of daily animadversion, apprehensions were raised of some severe corrective from a prince who observed himself the ancient parsimony. For, Caius Bibulus having begun the complaint, the other ædiles took it up, and declared "that the sumptuary laws were despised; the pomp and expense of plate and entertainments, in spite of restraints, increased daily, and by moderate penalties the evil could not be stopped." This grievance thus represented to the senate was by them referred entire to the emperor. Tiberius having long weighed with himself whether such propensities to prodigality could be stemmed,—whether the stemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the public,—how ignominious it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or which could only be effected by the disgrace and degradation of the most illustrious citizens, wrote at last to the senate in this manner:—¹

53. "In other matters, conscript fathers, perhaps it might be more expedient for you to consult me in the senate, and for me to declare there what I judge for the public weal; but in the debate on this affair it was best that my eyes were withdrawn, lest, while you marked the countenances and trepidation of individuals charged with extravagant luxury, I, too, should have observed them, and as it were caught them in it. Had the vigilant ædiles first asked counsel of me, I know not whether I should not have advised them rather to wink at overpowering and inveterate corruptions, than only make it manifest what enormities are too strong for us; but they in truth have done their duty, as I would have all other magistrates fulfil theirs. But for myself, it is neither commendable to be silent, nor yet to speak out, since I neither bear the character of ædile, prætor, or consul; something still greater and higher is required of a prince. Every one is ready to assume to himself the credit of whatever is well done, while upon the prince alone are thrown the miscarriages of all. But what is it that I am first to prohibit, what excess retrench to the ancient standard? Am I to begin with that of our country seats, spacious without bounds; and with the number of domestics, from various countries? or with the quantity of silver and gold? or with the pictures, and statues of brass, the wonders of art? or with vestments, promiscuously worn by men and women? or with what is peculiar to the women—those precious stones,—for the purchase of which our coin is carried into foreign or hostile nations?"¹

called "Biberius Caldus Mero." But though he was addicted to wine, he showed no disposition to the prevailing luxury of the times, till his excesses broke out in the isle of Caprea.

¹ With this account of Roman extravagance, compare the following lines from Lucan:—

"Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
Intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis,
Prædaque et hostiles luxum suaserunt rapinæ,
Non auro tectisve modus; mensasque priores
Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuere mares; fecunda virorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe
Quo gens quæque perit. Longos tum jungere fines
Agrorum, et duro quondam sulcata Camilli
Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonia."—*Pharsalia*, lib. 1.

84. "Nor am I ignorant that at entertainments and in parties these excesses are censured, and a regulation is demanded; and yet, if an equal law were made, if equal penalties were prescribed, these very censors would loudly complain, 'that the state was utterly overturned, that every illustrious house was menaced with ruin, and that every citizen was exposed to criminal informations.' And yet, as bodily diseases grown inveterate and strengthened by time, cannot be checked but by potent and violent remedies, so the morbid fire which rages in the mind, corrupted and corrupting, is not to be quenched but by remedies equally strong as its own flaming lusts. So many laws made by our ancestors, so many added by the deified Augustus; the former being lost in oblivion, and (which is more heinous) the latter in contempt, have only rendered luxury more secure; for when we covet a thing yet unforbidden, we are apt to fear that it may be forbidden; but when once we can with impunity overleap prohibited bounds, there remains afterwards nor fear nor shame. Why then did parsimony prevail of old? It was because every one was a law to himself—it was because we were then the citizens of one city; nor afterwards, while our dominion was confined to Italy, had we the same incentives to voluptuousness. By foreign conquests we learned to waste the property of others, and by civil wars to consume our own. How small is the evil of which the ædiles warn us! how lightly does it weigh in the balance with others! It is wonderful that nobody lays before the senate that Italy stands in need of foreign supplies; that the lives of the Roman people are daily exposed to the mercy of uncertain seas and tempests; were it not for our supplies from the provinces—supplies by which the masters, and their slaves, and their estates, are maintained—will our groves, forsooth, and villas maintain us? This duty, conscript fathers, devolves upon the prince; and if it were neglected, the utter ruin of the state would follow. The remedies for the other maladies are all within our own breasts: some of us shame will reclaim,—necessity will mend the poor, satiety the rich. Or if any of the magistrates, from a confidence in his own strictness of principle and energy, will undertake to stem the progress of so great an evil, he has my praises, and my acknowledgment that he disburdens me of part of my labours: but if their will is merely to declaim against abuses,

and when they have gained applause for the same leave me to bear the odium of proposing the measures they recommend, believe me, conscript fathers, I too am not fond of giving offence; and though I am content to encounter heavy, and for the most part unmerited animosities, for the good of the commonwealth, I am justified in deprecating such as are uncalled for and superfluous, and can be of no service either to me or to yourselves."

55. The senate, upon reading the emperor's letter, declined interfering in an affair of this nature, and sent it back to the ædiles: and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium¹ to the revolution by which Galba obtained the empire, a space of a hundred years, was practised with the most costly profusion, began then gradually to decline. The causes of this change I would investigate. Formerly, noble families who were distinguished for opulence or the splendour of their fame, frequently fell into decay from a passion for magnificence: for even then it was allowed to court the good graces of the Roman people, the allies and potentates, and to be courted by them: each was distinguished for popularity and the number of clients, in proportion to his affluence, the splendour of his house, and the figure he made. But when tyrants shed the blood of their subjects, and the greatness of reputation formed a motive for destruction, those who escaped grew wiser: besides, men of no family frequently chosen senators from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, brought with them the frugality they observed at home; and though, by good fortune or industry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former habits continued. But Vespasian was the great promoter of parsimonious living, himself a pattern of primitive strictness in his person and table: hence the compliance of the public with the manners of the prince; and the gratification of imitating him, operated more powerfully than the terror of laws and all their penalties. Or perhaps all human things go a certain round, and there are revolutions in manners analogous to the vicissitudes of the seasons: nor indeed have our ancestors excelled us in all things; our own age has produced many bright examples in moral conduct and

¹ The battle of Actium was fought A. U. C. 722. Galba was murdered A. E. C. 823.

the arts, to excite the emulation of posterity. But for these we are indebted to our forefathers: and may these contests for preeminence in virtue continue.

56. Tiberius, having gained the fame of moderation because he had checked the presumptuous expectations of the informers, wrote to the senate to desire the tribunitian power for Drusus. Augustus had devised this designation of supreme power, that while avoiding the title of king or dictator, he might yet have some appellation by which he would overtop all the other authorities. He afterwards shared it with Marcus Agrippa; and, upon his death, chose Tiberius for his associate; that none might doubt who was to be his successor. By this means he conceived he should prevent the aspiring views of others; while he confided in the moderation of Tiberius, and the extent of his own authority. By his example, Tiberius now advanced Drusus to the supreme magistracy; whereas, while Germanicus yet lived, he had shown no preference to either. In the beginning of his letter he besought the gods "that they would prosper his counsels in behalf of the republic;" and then added a guarded testimony to the qualities of the young prince, without any false additions; "that he had a wife and three children, and was of the same age with himself when called by the deified Augustus to that office;"¹ that Drusus was not now adopted precipitately by him as a partner in the toils of government; but after having had eight years' proof of him in seditions suppressed, wars concluded, the honour of a triumph, and two consulships."

57. The senators had anticipated this address; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but "statues to the two princes, altars to the gods, arches," and other usual honours: only that Marcus Silanus, in his zeal to honour the princes, would have degraded the consulate: he proposed "that all monuments, public and private, should, as a record of their date, be inscribed not with the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitian power." But Haterius Agrippa, by moving to have "the decrees of that day en-

¹ Lipsius observes that Drusus, according to this account, was six-and-thirty years of age. Tiberius was born A. U. C. 712, and was invested with the tribunitian power by Augustus A. U. C. 748.

graved in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate," became an object of derision; since as he was an old man he could reap from his most abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

58. In the meantime, as the province of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus, Servius Maluginensis, priest of Jupiter, demanded that of Asia. He insisted "that it was vainly alleged that such priests were not allowed to leave Italy: that he was under no other restriction than those of Mars and Romulus; and if the latter were admitted to the lots of provinces, why were those of Jupiter debarred? There were no decisions of the people on this subject, nor could anything be found in the books of ceremonies. That frequently, when the priests of Jupiter were prevented by sickness or public duty, their function was supplied by the pontiffs. That there was no priest appointed in his room for two-and-seventy years together, after the death of Cornelius Merula,¹ and yet the exercise of religion never ceased. Now if in such a series of years, religion could subsist unimpaired, without the creation of any such priest at all; how much easier might his absence be borne in the exercise of the proconsular power, for one year? That it was the effect of private piques, that formerly the priests of Jupiter were by the chief pontiffs debarred from the government of provinces. But now, by the goodness of the gods, the chief of pontiffs was also the chief of men; a pontiff with whom emulation, hatred, and other personal prepossessions, had no influence."

59. To these his reasonings various answers were made by Lentulus the augur, and others; the result was "to wait for the decision of the supreme pontiff."² Tiberius postponing his notice of the pretensions of the priest of Jupiter, qualified

¹ The death of Merula is thus described by Paterculus: "*Merula autem, qui se sub adventum Cinnæ consulatu abdicaverat, insidias venis superfususque altaribus sanguine, quos pro salute reipublicæ Flamen Dialis precatus erat Deos, eos in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus tum precatus, optime de republica meritum spiritum reddidit.*"—Lib. ii. s. 22. This was A.U.C. 667. From that time no priest of Jupiter was appointed till the year of Rome 748, when Augustus revived the office.

² The emperor was not only commander-in-chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of Imperator, and the sole director of all civil business, by his tribunitian power; but he was also, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

the honours decreed to Drusus on his assuming the tribunitian power; and especially censured the "extravagance of the motion, and the golden letters, as contrary to the custom of Rome." Letters from Drusus were likewise read, and though modest in expression, they were construed to be full of haughtiness:—"Had things then come to this pass," they said, "that even a youth, just distinguished with such high honour, deigned not to visit the gods of Rome, nor appear in senate; nor take the initiatory auspices in his native city? A war, forsooth, detained him; he had a journey to make from remote countries; while he was doing nothing more than diverting himself upon the lakes and shores of Campania. Thus was the ruler of the earth trained for his task; and this the lesson he had learnt from the maxims of his father! The emperor himself, now in the decline of life, might indeed be averse to living under the eye of the public, and plead exhausted energies and the toils he had endured; but what except insolence could prevent Drusus?"

60. Tiberius, while he fortified himself in the principedom, amused the senate with a shadow of their ancient jurisdiction, by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the provinces. For there had now prevailed amongst the Greek cities a latitude of instituting sanctuaries at pleasure. Hence the temples were filled with the most profligate slaves: here debtors found protection against their creditors; and hither were admitted such as were pursued for capital crimes. Nor was any authority sufficient to bridle the licentiousness of the people, who protected the crimes of men as if they were ceremonies appertaining to the gods. It was therefore ordered that these cities should send deputies and their muniments. Some of the cities voluntarily relinquished the nominal privileges which they had arbitrarily assumed: many confided in the antiquity of their superstitions, or in the merits of their kind offices to the Roman people. Glorious was the spectacle on that day, when the grants from our ancestors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances even of kings who had reigned before the Roman power, and even the sacred ceremonies of their gods, were now all subjected to the inspection of the senate: their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or abolish.

61. First of all the Ephesians appeared. They alleged, that

"Diana and Apollo were not, according to the credulity of the vulgar, born at Delos: in their territory flowed the river Cenchri, where also stood the Ortygian grove: there the teeming Latona, leaning upon an olive-tree, which even then remained, was delivered of these deities; and thence by their appointment the grove became sacred. Thither Apollo himself, after his slaughter of the Cyclops, retired from the wrath of Jupiter: soon after, the victorious Bacchus pardoned the suppliant Amazons, who sought refuge at the altar: by the concession of Hercules, when he reigned in Lydia, the sanctity of the temple was increased; nor during the Persian monarchy were its privileges invaded: they were next maintained by the Macedonians, and then by us."

62. The Magnesians next asserted their claim, founded on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio, and Sylla: the former after the defeat of Antiochus, the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a testimony of the faith and bravery of the Magnesians, dignified their temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from Cæsar the dictator, for their early services to his party; and another lately from Augustus, with a commendation inserted, "that with zeal unshaken towards the Roman people, they had borne the irruption of the Parthians." But these two people adored different deities: Aphrodisium was a city devoted to Venus; that of Stratonicea maintained the worship of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Those of Hierocæsarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, "that they possessed the Persian Diana, and her temple consecrated by king Cyrus." They likewise pleaded the authorities of Perpenna, Isauricus, and many more Roman captains, who had allowed the same sacred immunity not to the temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Those of Cyprus pleaded right of sanctuary to three of their temples; the most ancient, dedicated by Aérias¹ to the Paphian Venus; another by his son Amathus, to the Amathusian Venus; the third, to the Salaminian Jupiter, by Teucer the son of Telamon, when he fled from the fury of his father.

63. The deputies of other cities also were heard. But the senate, tired with so many, and because there was a contention

¹ For king Aérias, see History, book ii. a. 3

of parties, referred to the consuls "to search into the validity of their several pretensions, and if in them any fraud was involved, to lay the whole matter once more before the senate." The consuls reported, that besides the cities already mentioned, "they had found the temple of Æsculapius at Pergamos to be a genuine sanctuary; the others rested upon titles obscured by the mists of antiquity. Smyrna particularly pleaded an oracle of Apollo, in obedience to which they had dedicated a temple to Venus Stratoniceis;¹ as did the isle of Tenos an oracle from the same god, to erect to Neptune a statue and temple. Sardis urged a later authority, namely, a grant from the great Alexander; Miletus insisted on one from king Darius: as to the deities of these two cities, one worshipped Diana, the other Apollo. And Crete too demanded the privilege of sanctuary to a statue of the deified Augustus." Hence diverse orders of the senate were made, by which, though great reverence was expressed towards the deities, yet the extent of the sanctuaries was limited; and the several people were enjoined "to hang up in each temple the present decree engraven in brass, as a sacred memorial, and a restraint upon any attempts to exceed their due claims, under the colour of religion."

64. At the same time, the severe illness of Livia obliged the emperor to hasten his return to Rome; for hitherto the mother and son lived in real unanimity, or dissembled hate. It was indeed not long before, that Livia, having dedicated a statue to the deified Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus, had the name of Tiberius inscribed after her own. This he was believed to have resented grievously, as degrading to the dignity of the prince; but to have buried his resentment in dissimulation. Upon this occasion, the senate decreed "supplications to the gods; with the celebration of the greater Roman games, under the direction of the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, assisted by the college of seven, and the fraternity of the Augustal priests." Lucius Apronius had moved, that "with the rest might preside the company of heralds."² Tiberius opposed it; he distinguished between the jurisdiction

¹ The Venus Stratoniceis was so called after Stratonice, grandmother of Seleucus II., who mounted the throne of Syria A. U. C. 507.

² All questions of war and peace, the suspension of hostilities, and treaties of alliance, were referred to their decision. "*Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum oratores faciales iudicesque sunt.*"—Cicero, *De Legibus*, lib. ii. s. 9.

of the priests and theirs, and referred to precedents: "for that at no time," he said, "had the heralds arrived to so much pre-eminence; but as for the Augustal fraternity, they were added because they exercised a priesthood peculiar to that family for which the present vows and solemnities were made."

65. It is no part of my place to detail the votes that were given, unless they are distinguished for integrity, or notable for infamy: this I conceive to be the principal use of annals that instances of virtue may be recorded; and that by the dread of future infamy and the censures of posterity, men may be deterred from depravity in word or deed. But such was the pestilential character of those times, so contaminated with adulation, that not only the first nobles, whose obnoxious splendour found protection only in obsequiousness, but all who had been consuls, a great part of such as had been prætors, and even many of the inferior¹ senators, strove for priority in the fulsomeness and extravagance of their votes. There is a tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went out of the senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, "How fitted for slavery are these men!" Yes, even Tiberius, the enemy of public liberty, nauseated the crouching tameness of his slaves.

66. Hence by degrees they proceeded from acts of abasement to those of vengeance. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, accused by our allies of rapine and extortion, was further impleaded by Mamercus Scaurus, once consul, Junius Otho, prætor, and Brutidius Niger, ædile: they charged him with "violating the divinity of Augustus, and with despising the majesty of Tiberius." Mamercus boasted, that he imitated the great examples of old; "that Lucius Cotta was accused by Scipio; Servius Galba by Cato the censor; Publius Rutilius by Marcus Scaurus." [As if such crimes were avenged by Scipio and Cato; or by that very Scaurus, whom this same Mamercus his great grandson, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now disgracing by the vile occupation of an informer! The original employment of Junius Otho was that of a schoolmaster: thence being by the influence of Sejanus

¹ The original says, *Etiam pedarii senatores*: that is, the senators, who, when the sense of the assembly was taken *per discessionem*, i. e. when the house divided, walked over to the side of those with whom they agreed. This was, according to Sallust in Catil., "*pedibus in sententiam ire*." Hence the saying: "*Caput sine lingua, peditaria sententia est*."

created a senator, he laboured by deeds of shameless daring to triumph over the meanness of his original. Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments ; and, had he proceeded in the direct road, would have succeeded to all the highest honours ; but over-eagerness hurried him out of his course, while he strove to outdo first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own anticipations ; a conduct which has been fatal to many even virtuous men, who, scorning slow but safe advancement, have grasped at honours before they were ripe for them, and brought ruin upon themselves. —

67. Gellius Poplicola, and Marcus Paconius, joined the ranks of the accusers ; the former quæstor to Silanus, the other his lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accused was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beset by disadvantages, dangerous even to the innocent : besides so many senators his open foes, he had to reply alone and unaided to the most eloquent pleaders of all Asia, and therefore chosen purposely to accuse him ; ignorant as he was of pleading, and under personal fear ; a circumstance which disables even practised eloquence ; neither did Tiberius refrain from browbeating him, addressing him in a harsh tone, frowning upon and asking him incessant questions ; nor was he allowed leisure to refute or evade them ; nay, he was often forced to confess, lest the emperor should have asked in vain. The slaves too of Silanus, in order to be examined by torture, were delivered in sale to the city-steward ; and that none of his relations might engage in his defence, or aid him under such a heavy prosecution, crimes of treason were subjoined ; a sure bar to all help, and a seal upon their lips. Having, therefore, requested an interval of a few days, he abandoned his defence, and tried the emperor by a memorial, in which he blended remonstrances with prayers.

68. Tiberius, the better to palliate by precedent his purposes against Silanus, caused to be recited the record of Augustus, concerning Volesus Messala, proconsul of the same province, and the decree of the senate made against him. He then asked Lucius Piso his opinion : Piso, after a long preface about the emperor's clemency, proposed "to interdict Silanus from fire and water, and to banish him into the island Gyarus." The rest voted the same thing ; only that Cneius Lentulus moved, "that the estate descending from his mother

should be distinguished from his own, and restored to his son ; inasmuch as his own mother was a different person from her from whom he inherited the property in question." Tiberius assented. But Cornelius Dolabeila, pursuing his old strain of adulation, and having first inveighed against the morals of Silanus, added, "that no man of profligate manners, and branded with infamy, should be eligible to the government of provinces ; and of this the prince was to judge. Transgressions," he said, "were punished by the laws ; but how much more merciful would it be to prevent transgressions ! more merciful to the men themselves, and advantageous to the provinces."

69. Against this Tiberius reasoned, "that in truth he was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours concerning the conduct of Silanus ; but decrees must not be built upon rumours : in the administration of provinces, many had disappointed our hopes ; and many our fears. Some, by the magnitude and importance of their duties, were roused into amendment ; others sunk under them : the prince could not within his own view comprise everything ; nor was it at all expedient for him to be answerable for the ambitious proceedings of others. Laws were therefore appointed against acts committed, because all things future are hid in uncertainty. Such were the institutions of our ancestors ; that if crimes preceded, punishments were to follow : nor should they change establishments wisely contrived and always approved. The prince had already a sufficiency of burdens, and even a sufficiency of power : the rights of individuals decreased when that of the prince advanced ; nor was sovereignty to be exercised where the laws would serve." This speech was listened to with the greater delight as manifestations of popular principles were rare with Tiberius. He added, prudent as he was in mitigating extremes where his own personal resentments did not impel him, "that Gyarus was an inhospitable island, and devoid of human culture ; that, in favour to the Junian family, and as a patrician lately of their own order, they should allow him for his place of exile the isle of Cythera : that this too was the request of Torquata, the sister of Silanus, a vestal virgin of primitive sanctity." This motion prevailed.

70. The Cyrenians were afterwards heard ; and Cæsius Cordus, charged by them, and impleaded by Ancharius Priscus,

for plundering the province, was condemned. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, was impeached of treason, "for that he had converted an effigy of the prince into the ordinary purposes to which silver is applied;" but Tiberius would not allow him to be arraigned. Against this acquittal Ateius Capito¹ openly declared his protest, with an air of liberty: "for the emperor," he said, "ought not to force from the fathers the power of determining; nor ought so great an iniquity to pass unpunished: he might indeed be passive under his own grievances, but let him not make free with the indignation of the senate and the injuries done the commonwealth." Tiberius considered rather the drift of these words than the expression, and persisted in his interposition. The infamy of Capito was the more noted, because, learned as he was in laws human and divine, he thus obstructed the public good, and cast a stain upon his own personal accomplishments.

71. The next was a religious debate, in what temple to place the gift vowed by the Roman knights to Fortune, styled the Equestrian, for the recovery of Livia; for, though in the city were many temples to this goddess, yet none had that title. At last it was discovered that at Antium was one thus named; and as all the religious institutions in the cities of Italy, all the temples and statues of the deities, were included in the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Rome, the gift was ordered to be presented there. While matters of religion were in agitation, the answer lately deferred concerning Servius Maluginensis, priest of Jupiter, was now produced by Tiberius, who recited a statute of the pontiffs, "that when the priest of Jupiter was taken ill, he might, with the consent of the chief pontiff, be absent two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice in the same year." This regulation made under Augustus, sufficiently showed that a year's absence and the administration of provinces were not allowed to the priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of Lucius Metellus, chief pontiff, who restrained to Rome Aulus Postumius, who was in that capacity. So the lot of Asia was conferred on that consular who was next in seniority to Maluginensis.

72. At this time, Lepidus asked leave of the senate to strengthen and beautify, at his own expense, the Basilica of

¹ For more of Ateius Capito, see this book. a. 75.

Paulus, a peculiar monument of the Æmilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent in public works. Nor had Augustus opposed Taurus, Philippus, or Balbus,¹ for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the city, and the perpetuation of their own renown. By their example Lepidus, though but moderately rich, meant now to revive the glory of his ancestors. But Tiberius undertook to rebuild the theatre of Pompey, which was accidentally burnt, because none of the family were equal to the charge; still however to be called by the name of Pompey. At the same time, he celebrated the praises of Sejanus, and to his vigilance and efforts ascribed it, that a flame so violent was stopped at one building only. Hence the fathers decreed a statue to Sejanus to be placed in the theatre of Pompey:² nor was it long after that the emperor, when he dignified Junius Blæsus the pro-consul of Africa with the ensigns of triumph, declared "that in honour to Sejanus he did it," for Blæsus was the uncle of Sejanus.

73. And yet the actions of Blæsus were entitled to such a distinction. For Tacfarinas, though often repulsed, yet still repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, that he sent ambassadors to Tiberius, with demands "for a settlement for himself and his army;" otherwise he threatened to involve him in "endless war." They say that upon no occasion was Tiberius ever so deeply affected at an insult offered to himself and the Roman name: "that a deserter and a robber should thus, like a regular enemy, offer to treat! Not even to Spartacus³ was granted permission to treat for peace, while, after the slaughter of so many consular armies, he still carried fire and desolation through Italy with impunity, though the commonwealth,

¹ The public buildings erected by Taurus, Philippus, Balbus, and others, are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 89: and more particularly by Suetonius, in Aug. s. 29.

² Hence the indignant exclamation of Seneca: "Quis non rumpetur, supra cineres Cneii Pompeii constitui Sejannam, et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem?"—*De Consolat.* cap. xxii.

³ Spartacus kindled up the Servile War in Italy A.U.C. 681. He gained two important victories. Being defeated in a battle with Licinius Crassus, he died bravely, sword in hand.

then engaged in two wars of surpassing magnitude with Sertorius¹ and Mithridates, was tottering under them. Much less was Tacfarinas, a freebooter, when the Roman people were in their most glorious elevation, to be bought off by terms of peace and the concession of lands." Hence he commissioned Blæsus 'to engage all his followers, by the hopes of indemnity, to lay down their arms; but to get into his hands the leader himself, by whatever means."

74. And on these terms of pardon many were brought over; and the war was forthwith prosecuted against him by stratagems not unlike his own. For as he, who in strength of men was unequal, but in arts of stealth and pillaging superior, made his incursions in separate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, while at the same time he planted ambushes; so on our side, three distinct routes were resolved upon, and three several bodies set in motion. Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence Tacfarinas made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongst the Garamantes: in another quarter the younger Blæsus led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cirtensians from ravages: between both marched the proconsul himself, with the flower of the army, erecting forts and casting up entrenchments in convenient places, thus hemming in the enemy by a complete chain of positions, so that, whatever way they turned, still some party of the Roman forces was upon them—in front, in flank, and often in the rear, and by this means were many slain or made prisoners. This triple army was again split by Blæsus into bands still smaller, and over each a centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as usual at the end of the season, draw off his forces from the field, or dispose them in winter-quarters in the old province; but, as if on the threshold of the war, having raised more forts, he despatched light parties, acquainted with the deserts, who drove Tacfarinas before them, continually shifting his huts, till, having captured his brother, he retreated; too hastily however for the good of the province, as there were still left behind the means of rekindling the war. But Tiberius took it for concluded, and likewise granted to Blæsus that he should be by the legions

¹ Sertorius, and Mithridates king of Pontus, joined in a league against the Romans, A.U.C. 680.

saluted "Imperator," an ancient honour, usually rendered to the old Roman captains, who, upon their successful exploits for their country, were saluted with shouts of joy and vehement exultation from their victorious armies: and there have been at once several Imperators, without any preeminence of one over the rest. It was a title vouchsafed to some even by Augustus; and now, for the last time, by Tiberius to Blæsus.

75. This year died two illustrious men; the first, Asinius Saloninus, distinguished as the grandson of Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio; half-brother of Drusus, and the intended husband of the emperor's granddaughter. The second, Ateius Capito, mentioned above; in civil acquirements, the most eminent man in Rome; for pedigree, his grandfather was only a centurion under Sylla, but his father attained the rank of prætor. Augustus had pushed him early into the consulship, that, by the honour of that office, he might set him above Antistius Labeo, who excelled in the same accomplishments; for that age produced together these two ornaments of peace: but Labeo possessed the genuine spirit of liberty, and therefore enjoyed a larger share of popularity; while Capito gained by obsequiousness greater credit with those who bore rule. The former, as he was never suffered to rise beyond the prætorship, derived favour from the injustice done him; the other, from having obtained the consulate of which he was considered unworthy, was on that account an object of aversion.

76. Junia too, now sixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, finished her course; by birth the daughter of the sister of Cato, sister of M. Brutus, and wife of C. Cassius. Her will was the subject of much talk amongst the populace; since being immensely rich, and having honourably distinguished with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted Tiberius,—an omission which drew from him no indications of offended dignity, nor did he hinder her panegyric from being pronounced from the rostra, nor her funeral from being celebrated with all the other customary solemnities. The images of twenty of the most illustrious families—the Manlii, the Quinctii, and other names of equal splendour, were carried before it. Those of Brutus and Cassius were not displayed, but for that very reason they shone with pre-eminent lustre.

BOOK IV.

1. WHEN Caius Asinius and Caius Antistius were consuls, Tiberius was in the ninth year of his reign; during the whole of which he saw the state undisturbed by commotion, and his family flourishing (for he regarded the death of Germanicus as one of the lucky events which had befallen him); but now, on a sudden, fortune began to work confusion and trouble; Tiberius himself to tyrannise, or encourage and support others in tyrannical proceedings. The origin and cause of this change is attributable to Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, whose prevailing influence I have already mentioned. I will now unfold the particulars of his birth, his character, and the atrocious act by which he sought to grasp the sovereign power. He was born at Vulsinii; his father was Sejus Strabo, a Roman knight; in early youth he attached himself to Caius Cæsar, grandson of the deified Augustus; and was reported to have prostituted himself to Apicius, a rich man and a noted spendthrift. Soon after, he gained such an ascendancy over Tiberius by various arts, that though he was close and mysterious in his intercourse with others, he threw off all restraint and reserve with him. This was not so much effected by superior sagacity (for it was in this that he was surpassed by Tiberius) as the displeasure with which the gods regarded the Roman state, to which he was equally fatal in the height of his power and in his death. His person was hardy and equal to fatigues; his spirit daring; expert in disguising his own iniquities, prompt to spy out the failings of others; at once fawning and imperious; with an exterior of assumed modesty, his heart insatiably lusted for supreme domination; and with this view he engaged sometimes in profusion, largesses, and luxury; but more frequently gave himself to business and watching, practices no less dangerous, when counterfeited by ambition for the acquisition of empire.

2. The authority of his commission over the guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one camp all the prætorian cohorts then dispersed over the city; that thus united, they might receive his orders simultaneously, and by continually beholding their own numbers and strength, and by familiar intercourse, conceive a confidence in themselves, and strike terror into others. He pretended, "that the soldiers, while they lived scattered, became debauched; that when gathered into a body, in any hasty emergency, a larger force might be brought up at once to give aid; and that when their camp was fixed remote from the allurements of the town, they would in their discipline be more exact and severe." When the encampment was finished, he began gradually to creep into the good graces of the soldiers, by conversing with them, and addressing them by name: he also chose the centurions and the tribunes himself. Nor did he fail to strengthen his interest in the senate by getting those who were of his party invested with honours and the command of provinces; Tiberius yielding to him in everything, and seconding his views with such zeal, that not in conversation only, but in his speeches to the senate and people, he frequently made honourable mention of him as his associate in the toils of government; nay, he allowed his effigies to be adored in the several theatres, in the forum, and at the head-quarters¹ of the legions.

3. But the imperial house full of Cæsars; the emperor's son,² in the vigour of manhood, and his grandsons grown up, were obstacles to his ambition: and because to cut them all off at once was dangerous, the success of his treacherous plot required that the horrid deeds should be perpetrated at intervals. He however chose the more secret method, and to begin with Drusus, against whom he was impelled by recent motives of resentment. For Drusus, impatient of a rival, and in temper irascible, had lifted his hand against Sejanus,

¹ The word translated "head-quarters" is *principia*, which signifies the broad space left between the tents of the legions and the tribunes in a Roman camp. This space formed a wide street, running across the whole encampment, and thus dividing it into two parts. On the marking out of the *principia* depended the laying down of all other parts, and all the lines of tents led up to it, as the main thoroughfare.

² Drusus, and the three sons of Germanicus; Nero, Drusus, and Caligula.

in an altercation which happened to arise between them, and, as he prepared to resist, given him a blow on the face. Carefully considering therefore every means of revenge, the most opportune seemed to be to have recourse to Livia, his wife: she was the sister of Germanicus, and though in her younger days she was not handsome, she grew up surpassingly beautiful. Pretending to be violently enamoured of her, he tempted her to adultery; and having once triumphed over her honour, (nor will a woman who has sacrificed her chastity stick at any other iniquity,) he led her on to entertain the project of a marriage with him, a partnership in the empire, and the murder of her husband. Thus the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a connexion with an adulterer from a municipal town; exchanging an honourable certainty for guilty prospects which might never be realized. Eudemus, the friend and physician¹ of Livia, who, under colour of his profession, was frequently with her in private, was admitted into the plot. Sejanus too, to avoid the jealousy of his mistress, repudiated Apicata, his wife, by whom he had three children. But still the enormity of the crime induced fear, delay, and frequently opposite counsels.

4. In the beginning of this year, Drusus, one of the offspring of Germanicus, put on the manly gown; and upon him the senate conferred the same honours decreed to his brother Nero. A speech was added by Tiberius, with high encomiums on his son, "that he showed the tenderness of a father to the children of his brother." For Drusus, however difficult it be for power and unanimity to subsist between equals, was esteemed kind, certainly not ill-disposed, towards these youths. Now again was revived by Tiberius his stale and oft counterfeited purpose of a progress into the provinces. He pretended "the multitude of veterans to be discharged, and the necessity of recruiting the armies; for there was a deficiency of volunteers, or if there were a sufficient supply,

¹ Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the physicians of his times. They had their opportunities to administer poison, to make wills, and manage intrigues. "*Quid enim venenorum fertilis? aut unde plures, testamentorum insidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principum domibus, ut Eudemi in Livia Drusi Cæsaris.*"—Lib. xxix. s. 8,

they were inferior in courage and conduct, as those who volunteered were generally desperate and loose characters." He likewise cursorily recounted the number of the legions, and what countries they defended, a detail which I think it behoves me also to repeat, that thence may appear what was then the complement of the Roman forces, what kings their confederates, and how much more narrow the limits of the empire were then than now.¹

5. Italy was guarded by two fleets, in the two seas; one at Misenum, one at Ravenna; and the nearest coast of Gaul by the galleys taken by Augustus at the battle of Actium and sent ably manned to Forojulium. But the chief strength lay upon the Rhine; it consisted of eight legions, a common resource against the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three. King Juba² had received Mauritania by gift from the Roman people: the rest of Africa was occupied by two legions; and Egypt by a similar number. Four legions kept in subjection all that is comprehended in the vast range of country commencing with Syria, and extending as far as the Euphrates and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other territories, whose princes are protected against foreign powers by our greatness. Thrace was held by Rhemetalces, and the sons of Cotys; and both banks of the Danube by four legions; two in Pannonia, two in Mœsia. In Dalmatia likewise were placed two; who, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former in the rear, and had not far to march into Italy, were any sudden succours required there: though Rome too had her peculiar soldiery; three city cohorts, and nine prætorian, levied chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman

¹ In the time of Tiberius, Syene, a city strongly garrisoned, at the farther extremity of Egypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red Sea.

² Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himself to Pompey's party, and took a decided part against Julius Cæsar. Even after the death of Pompey, he stood at bay with Cæsar, and at length received a total overthrow in the battle of Thapsus. The son was led to Rome, to walk in Cæsar's triumph. Educated at the court of Augustus, and distinguished by his talents, Augustus gave him in marriage the young Cleopatra, daughter of the famous Cleopatra, by Mark Antony, and sent him (Numidia being then a Roman province) to reign in Mauritania, A.U.C. 724.

colonies. In convenient stations in the several provinces were the fleets of the several confederates, squadrons of the allied cavalry, and auxiliary cohorts and battalions: an extent of forces not much differing from the others: but the particular detail would be uncertain, since, according to the exigency of the times, they often shifted stations, sometimes were increased in number, and sometimes reduced.

6. I consider this a fitting occasion to review also the other parts of the administration, and by what measures it was hitherto conducted; since in this year commenced the pernicious changes introduced by Tiberius. In the first place, then, all the public, and every private business of moment, was managed by the senate: to the leading members he allowed liberty of debate: those who deviated into flattery, he himself checked: in conferring preferments, he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war, and distinguished civil accomplishments; insomuch that it was agreed, that none had greater pretensions. The consuls and the prætors retained the usual distinctions of their offices; inferior magistrates the exercise of their authority; and the laws, except the inquisition for treason, were beneficially administered. The tithes, taxes, and all public receipts, were directed by companies of Roman knights: the management of his own estates he committed only to men of eminent probity; and to some from their reputation, though unknown to him: and when once engaged, they were continued, without any restriction of term; since most of them grew old in the same employments. The people were indeed distressed by the dearth of provisions; but without any fault of the prince: nay, he spared no possible expense nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenness in the earth, and storms at sea. He took care that the provinces should not be oppressed with new impositions; and that the existing burthens should not be rendered intolerable by rapacity or severity in the magistrates: corporal punishments and confiscations of goods were unknown.

7. The emperor's lands in Italy were small, and thinly scattered; the behaviour of his slaves modest; the freed-men in his house few; his disputes with private individuals were determined by the courts and the law. All these regulations he observed, though in his manner not mild and gracious, but harsh, and not unfrequently ferocious; yet still he retained

them, till on the death of Drusus they were reversed: for, while he lived they continued; because Sejanus, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, studied to recommend himself by good counsels. He had, too, an avenger to dread, who disguised not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints: "That, with a son alive, a stranger was called in as coadjutor in the government; nay, how little was wanting to his being declared colleague! That the first advances to sovereignty are steep and perilous; but, once entered on, you find plenty of zealous friends and agents. Already a camp for the guards was formed, at the pleasure of the captain: into his hands the soldiers were delivered: in the theatre of Pompey his statue was beheld: in his grandchildren would be mixed the blood of the Drusi with that of Sejanus.¹ After all this, what remained but to pray that he might set bounds to his ambition, and be satisfied with what he had got." Nor was it rarely that he threw out these taunts, or to a few; besides, his wife being debauched, all his secrets were betrayed to Sejanus.

8. Sejanus therefore judging that he must use despatch, chose such a poison as, by operating gradually, might give the appearance of a casual disease. This was administered to Drusus by Lygdux the eunuch, as, eight years after, was discovered. Now during the days of his illness, Tiberius disclosed no signs of apprehension (perhaps from ostentation of a firmness of spirit), nay, when he had expired, and while he was yet unburied, he entered the senate, and finding the consuls placed upon the ordinary benches in testimony of their grief, he admonished them of their dignity and proper place: the senators burst into tears, but Tiberius, suppressing even a sigh, in a speech uttered without hesitation, thus animated them. He said "that he was perfectly aware that he might be censured for having thus, in the first throbbings of sorrow, exposed himself to the view of the senate; most of those who mourn, can scarce endure the soothings of their kindred, scarce look upon the face of day: neither were they to be accused of weakness: but he had sought more manly consolations, from throwing himself into the bosom of the common-

¹ The statue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre. See book iii. s. 72. His daughter was also to be married to Drusus, the son of Claudius, afterwards emperor.

wealth." He then lamented "the extreme age of his mother, the as yet tender years of his grandsons, his own time of life, now verging towards its close;" and desired that, "as the great alleviation of the present evils, the children of Germanicus might be introduced." The consuls therefore went for them, and having with kind words cheered the young princes, escorted them to the house, and placed them before the emperor. He took them by the hand and said, "Conscript fathers, these fatherless youths I committed to their uncle; and besought him that, though he had issue of his own, he would rear and nourish them no otherwise than as his own blood; and train them up so that they might be worthy of himself and posterity. Drusus being snatched from us, to you I address the same prayers; and in the presence of the gods, in the face of your country, I conjure you, receive into your protection, take under your tuition the great-grandchildren of Augustus; children descended from ancestors the most glorious in the state: towards them fulfil your own and my duty. To you, Nero and Drusus, these senators are in the place of fathers; and such are the circumstances of your birth, that the good and evil which befalls you must extend to the commonwealth."

9. All this was heard with much weeping, and followed by benedictions: and had he observed a medium in his speech, he had left the minds of his hearers full of sympathy and veneration. But, by recurring to that hollow and oft ridiculed proposition of his about restoring the republic, and that the consuls, "or some one else, should undertake the administration," he threw suspicion upon what was commendable and sincere. To the memory of Drusus were decreed the same solemnities as to that of Germanicus, with many superadded; the natural effect of flattery, which gathers strength as it grows older. The funeral was signally splendid in the procession of images; as *Æneas*, the father of the Julian race; all the kings of Alba, and *Romulus*, founder of Rome; next the Sabine nobility, *Attus Clausus*, and the effigies of the rest of the Claudian family, were displayed in lengthened train.

10. In relating the death of Drusus, I have followed the majority, and the most trustworthy historians: I would not however omit a rumour which in those times was so prevailing, that it is not extinguished in ours; "that *Sejanus*, having by

adultery gained Livia to the murder, had likewise engaged by constupration the concurrence of Lygdus the eunuch ; because Lygdus was, on account of his youth and form, dear to his master, and one of his chief attendants: that when the time and place of poisoning were concerted by the conspirators, Sejanus carried his boldness so far as to change his plan, and charging upon Drusus a design of poisoning Tiberius, secretly warned the emperor to shun the first draught offered him in an entertainment at his son's: that the old man, deceived by this fictitious treason, after he had sat down to table, having received the cup delivered it to Drusus, who, unconsciously and in all the gaiety of youthful spirits, drank it off: a circumstance which heightened the suspicion of his guilt, as if through fear and shame he inflicted on himself the death he had contrived for his father."

11. These common rumours, besides that they are supported by no certain author, may be easily refuted. For, who of ordinary prudence (much less Tiberius, so practised in affairs of moment) would to his own son, without hearing him, present the poisoned cup ; with his own hands, too, and when there was no retracing his step, so as to reverse the act upon reconsideration ? He would rather have applied the torture to find out the minister of the poison and its author ; and lastly, have observed towards his only son—a son hitherto convicted of no iniquity—that inherent hesitation which he showed even towards strangers. But as Sejanus was reckoned the framer of every wickedness, therefore, from the excessive fondness of Tiberius towards him, and from the hatred of all others towards both, even fabulous and monstrous things were believed of them ; besides that common fame is ever more fraught with tales of horror as to the departure of princes. The truth is, the plan and process of the murder were first discovered by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, and confirmed upon the rack by Eudemus and Lygdus. Nor has any writer appeared so hostile as to charge it upon Tiberius ; though in other instances they have sedulously collected and inflamed every action of his. My purpose in relating and refuting this rumour was, under so glaring an example, to destroy the credit of groundless hearsays, and to request of those into whose hands my present undertaking shall come, that they would not prefer vague and improbable

rumours, unscrupulously credited, to the narrations of truth unadulterated with romance.

12. To proceed: when Tiberius was pronouncing in public the panegyric of his son,¹ the senate and people assumed the port and accents of mourners, in appearance rather than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to see the house of Germanicus begin to revive. But this dawn of popular favour, and the conduct of Agrippina, ill-disguising her hopes, quickened its overthrow. For Sejanus, when he saw the death of Drusus pass unrevenged upon his murderers, and unregretted by the public, undaunted as he was in villany since his first efforts had succeeded, revolved with himself how he might extirpate the sons of Germanicus, whose succession to the empire was now unquestionable. They were three, and, from the eminent fidelity of their governors, and inviolable chastity of Agrippina, poison could not be administered to all at once. He began to inveigh against the contumacy of Agrippina; to rouse the old hatred of Augusta the elder, and the guilty mind of his recent accomplice, Livia; that they might persuade the emperor, "that, proud of her numerous offspring, and relying on the affections of the people, Agrippina had designs upon the sovereignty." And in addition to these things, by means of crafty calumniators, [and amongst the rest she had selected Julius Posthumus, a man every way qualified for her purposes, as he was the adulterer of Mutilia Prisca, and thence a confidant of her grandmother's; for over the mind of the empress Prisca had powerful influence;] she rendered the old woman, in her own nature anxious for power, utterly irreconcilable to the widow of her grandson. Such, too, as were nearest the person of Agrippina, were prompted to be continually goading on her naturally haughty spirit.

13. Tiberius meanwhile nowise relaxing in the cares of

¹ Seneca represents Tiberius with an inflexible countenance delivering a speech that melted the audience to tears. He adds, by this firmness, so singular on such an occasion, Tiberius proved to Sejanus, who stood at his elbow, that he could see unmoved the desolation of his family: "*Experiendum se dedit Sejano ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.*"—*Consol. ad Marciam*, s. 15. About four or five months after the death of Drusus, deputies arrived from Ilium to condole with Tiberius: "*And I,*" he said, "*condole with you for the loss of Hector.*"—*Suet. in Tib.* s. 54.

government, but deriving relief from his occupations, attended to the administration of justice at Rome, and despatched the petitions from the provinces. By a decree of the senate, at his motion, the city of Cibra in Asia, and that of Ægium in Achaia, which had both suffered from earthquake, were eased of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus too, proconsul of Further Spain, was condemned for violence in his administration, and for the ferocity of his conduct banished to the Isle of Amorgos. Carsidius Sacerdos, charged with supplying the enemy Tacfarinas, was acquitted; as was Caius Gracchus of the same crime. This Caius was in his childhood carried by his father Sempronius into the island Cercina, a companion in his exile; he grew up there amongst fugitives and men destitute of liberal education; and afterwards sustained himself by trafficking in a small way between Africa and Sicily; nor did he escape the perils that wait on elevated fortune; and had not Ælius Lamia¹ and Lucius Apronius,² proconsuls of Africa, protected his innocence, he would have been swept away in the tide which overwhelmed that illustrious but ill-starred family, and have been involved in the calamitous fate of his father.

14. This year also brought deputations from the Grecian cities; one from the people of Samos; one from those of Cos; the former to request that the ancient right of sanctuary in the temple of Juno might be confirmed; the latter for that of Æsculapius. The Samians claimed upon a decree of the council of the Amphictyons, the supreme judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks, by their cities founded in Asia, possessed the maritime coasts. Nor had they of Cos a weaker title to antiquity; to which were added the pretensions of the place to the friendship of Rome: for they had lodged in the temple of Æsculapius all the Roman citizens there, when, by the order of king Mithridates, they were being massacred throughout all the cities of Asia and the Isles. And now, after many and generally ineffectual complaints from the prætors, the emperor at last made a representation to the senate, concerning the licentiousness of the players; "that in many instances they seditiously violated the public peace; and in

¹ See Annals, book i. s. 53.

² Lucius Apronius has been mentioned, book iii. s. 21. For Ælius Lamia, see Annals, book vi. s. 27.

many promoted debauchery in private families : that the Oscan Farce, formerly only the contemptible delight of the vulgar, had risen to such a pitch of depravity, and exercised such an influence on society, that it must be checked by the authority of the senate." The players were then driven out of Italy.

15. The same year carried off one of the twins of Drusus, and thence afflicted the emperor with fresh woe ; nor with less for the death of a particular friend. It was Lucilius Longus, the inseparable companion of all the vicissitudes of his fortune, prosperous or adverse ; and, of all the senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reason, though not a man of family, the senate decreed him a censorian funeral, and a statue to be placed, at the expense of the treasury, in the forum of Augustus. For by the senate even yet all affairs were transacted ; insomuch that Lucilius Capito, the emperor's comptroller¹ in Asia, was, at the accusation of the province, put upon his defence before them : the emperor protesting with great earnestness, "that from him Lucilius had no authority but over his slaves, and in collecting his domestic rents : that if he had usurped the jurisdiction of prætor, and employed military force, he had so far violated his orders ; they should therefore hear the allegations of the province." Thus the accused was, upon trial had, condemned. For this just vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on Caius Silanus,² the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, and his mother, and the senate ; and obtained leave to build it. For this concession Nero made a speech of thanks to the senators and his grandfather ; while all who heard him were thrilled with delight, for as the image of Germanicus was still fresh in their minds, they fancied it was he they both heard and saw. The young man also possessed a modesty and gracefulness of person worthy of a prince, which derived additional charms from the danger to which he was exposed from the known antipathy of Sejanus.

16. About the same time the emperor made a discourse

¹ The *procuratores* looked after the supplies for the emperor's privy purse in every province. The peculiarity here, therefore, is, that Tiberius allowed his own domestic officer to be brought before the senate, instead of deciding on the case himself.

² See above; book iii. s. 66.

"about the choice of a new priest of Jupiter, in the room of Servius Maluginensis, deceased; and the proposal of a new law in this matter: for that it was the ancient custom to nominate three patricians, born of parents who had in their nuptials observed the form of confarreation,¹ one of whom was elected: but now that the solemnity of confarreation was quite omitted, or by few observed, there remained not then, as formerly, the same scope for choice." He adduced "several reasons for that omission; the principal was a want of zeal both in men and women for that rite; to this were added the difficulties attending the ceremony itself, which prompted them to avoid it; besides that the paternal authority was for ever lost over any son who acquired that priesthood, and over any daughter who became subject to him by a marriage contract. A remedy therefore ought to be applied by a decree of the senate, or by a law; after the example of Augustus, who had softened some rigid usages of antiquity, and adapted them to the genius of the times." The senate therefore, discussing the subject of religious ceremonies, agreed "to make no change from the first institution." Only a law passed, "That the priestess of Jupiter should, in the administration of things sacred, be under the dominion of her husband; but enjoy, in other things, the ordinary privileges of women." Maluginensis, the son, was appointed to succeed his father. And that the estimation of the priesthood might increase, and the zeal of the priests themselves for the sacred solemnities might be encouraged, a present of two thousand great sesterces was decreed to the vestal virgin, Cornelia, chosen in the place of Scantia; and to Augusta a privilege granted, that as often as she went to the theatre, she should sit amongst the vestals.

17. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, the pontiffs, and by their example the other priests, when they offered vows for the prosperity of the emperor,

¹ Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome. 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year. (*Usus*.) 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and sale between the parties. (*Coemptio*.) 3. When the chief pontiff, distributing flour in the presence of ten witnesses, joined the bride and bridegroom. (*Confarreatio*.) Other marriages were easily dissolved; but that by *Confarreatio* required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties. For full particulars respecting the laws of marriage amongst the Romans, see Smith's Dict. of Ant., art. *Marriage*.

commended likewise Nero and Drusus to the care of the same gods : not so much from any tenderness towards these youths, as from flattery ; a practice which, in corrupt times, it is equally dangerous to exceed in, and to fail in altogether. For Tiberius, never kindly disposed to the house of Germanicus, now lamented passionately that “ no difference was made between their youth and his years ;” and sending for the pontiffs, examined them, “ whether to the entreaties, or menaces of Agrippina, they had made this concession ?” And though they denied both, he gave them a tolerable reprimand ; for most of them were her kinsmen, or men of the first distinction in Rome. But in a speech to the senate he warned them for the time to come, “ that no one should encourage the giddy minds of young men to indulge in presumptuous aspirations by premature distinctions. For Sejanus goaded him on, and complained that the state was separated into opposite parties as in a civil war : that already there were those who called themselves the partisans of Agrippina ; and if no stop were put to it, the faction would increase. Nor was there any other remedy for the prevailing spirit of faction, than cutting off one or two of the ringleaders.

18. With this view he commenced an attack upon Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. The friendship of Germanicus was fatal to both ; but other considerations helped to ruin Silius : he had for seven years commanded a powerful army ; he had for his exploits in Germany been distinguished with the ensigns of triumph ; he had subdued the revolting Gauls under Sacrovir ; and the greater the shock of his prostration, the greater the terror it would spread among others. It was believed by many that by his own intemperate speeches he had heightened the displeasure conceived against him ; while he boasted extravagantly “ that his soldiers persisted in obedience, when others lapsed into sedition ; nor had the empire remained to Tiberius, if in those legions too there had been a thirst for change.” By these pretensions of his the emperor thought his own state was disparaged, and that it was unequal to the recompense of such important services. For benefits are only so far acceptable as they seem capable of being requited ; but when they have much exceeded the power of remuneration, they are recompensed with hatred instead of gratitude.

19. Sosia Galla was the wife of Silius, and, for the love

Agrippina bore her, frowned on by Tiberius. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to postpone for a time the trial of Sabinus. Against them was engaged as an accuser, Varro the consul, who, under colour of "revenging his father's quarrel," gratified, by his own infamy, the malice of Sejanus. The request of the accused for a short respite till Varro ceased to be consul, was opposed by the emperor; "for that it was customary for magistrates to put private persons upon trial; nor ought the privilege of a consul to be infringed; since upon his vigilance it depended that no damage accrued to the common-weal." It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius to shelter under venerable names the villanies of modern invention. The senate was therefore summoned with great formality, as if Silius were to be dealt with according to the laws, or as if Varro had been consul, or as if the present domination had been the ancient republic. Silius remained silent; or if he made an effort to speak in his defence, it was but to declare the truth, that struggled in his breast, that he was the victim of a tyrant's resentment. The charges brought against him were "his long connivance at the machinations of Sacrovir, arising out of his being an accomplice with him; his victory tarnished with abominable avarice; and the behaviour of his wife, Sosia." And certainly they could not exculpate themselves from the charge of extortion: but the whole accusation was carried on as a question of treason; and Silius prevented by a voluntary death, the condemnation that inevitably awaited him.

20. His estate, however, was eagerly seized upon; not that the money extorted from those who paid tribute might be refunded, for none of these claimed it; but what he had received from the bounty of Augustus was rigorously exacted; and a specific calculation made of all the effects of Silius claimed by the exchequer. This was the first instance in which Tiberius showed a covetousness of the property of others. Sosia was sentenced to banishment, at the motion of Asinius Gallus, who proposed, "that half her effects should be forfeited, half left to her children." Manius Lepidus,¹ on the contrary, voted "the fourth part to the accusers, as the law² required; all the

¹ See above, book iii. s. 32.

² The *Lex Julia de Majestate*. It was determined by the senate whether the accusers had earned the rewards fixed by law. In many cases even more was allowed.

rest to the children." This Lepidus¹ I find to have been, for those times, a wise and sedate man; for by him the torrent of flattery was frequently turned, and many of its cruel suggestions mitigated: nor was he at all deficient in tact and management, as he contrived to maintain at the same high and unvarying level his influence and favour with Tiberius. Hence I am driven to raise the question, whether the inclination of princes to some men, and their antipathy to others, as well as other things of the same class, are to be ranked among the uncontrollable contingencies of nature, or whether they depend upon our own counsels, and we may if we please preserve a course equally remote from rash contumacy and unseemly complaisance, exempt from ambition and the dangers which attend it. Cotta Messalinus, a man descended from ancestors no less illustrious, but of a different spirit, moved to provide by a decree of the senate, "that the magistrates of the several provinces, however innocent themselves, and even unacquainted with the mismanagement of others, should be punished for the crimes of their wives committed in the provinces, equally as for their own."

21. The next proceeding was against Calpurnius Piso,² a man of noble descent and undaunted spirit. For it was he who, as I have related, protested with so much vehemence in the senate, "that he would abandon Rome, to escape the conspiracies of the informers;" and, in defiance of the court influence of Augusta, dared to prosecute her favourite Urgulania, and summon her from the palace of the emperor. All which Tiberius treated at the time in a manner suitable to a citizen of a free state; but in a soul like his, that brooded over vengeance, though the transports of resentment had abated, the impression remained deep in his memory. Quintus Granius charged Piso with treasonable words uttered privately; and added, "that he kept poison in his house, and came into the senate armed with a dagger:" an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropped. But for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was to be put upon his trial; which, on account of his destroying himself on purpose to avoid it, was not gone through with.

¹ Manius Lepidus has been already mentioned, book i. s. 13; book iii. s. 50. See also Annals, book vi. s. 27.

² See above, book ii. s. 34.

Then, too, came before them the business of Cassius Severus, the exile, a man of mean origin and wicked life, but a powerful speaker; who, in consequence of the enemies he had wantonly made, had occasioned an order of the senate, passed with the solemnity of swearing, for his banishment into Crete; where, by persisting in his wonted practices, he drew upon himself his former enemies, and fresh ones in addition: so that he was now stripped of his goods, interdicted from fire and water, and doomed to wear out his existence on the rocky island of Seriphus.¹

22. About the same time, Plautius Silvanus, the prætor, for what cause is uncertain, killed Apronia his wife, by throwing her down headlong from a window. When he was brought by Lucius Apronius his father-in-law before the emperor, he answered, in confusion of mind, "that while he was sound asleep, and therefore unaware of what she was doing, his wife had destroyed herself." Tiberius instantly hastened to the house, and inspected the chamber; and in it the marks of his violence and her struggling were apparent. This he reported to the senate; and, judges being appointed, Urgulania, the grandmother of Plautius, sent him a dagger; which it was believed she did by the advice of Tiberius, in regard of the friendship of Augusta for her. The criminal, having in vain essayed to use the steel, caused his veins to be opened. Soon after, Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having by charms and potions disordered the understanding of her husband; but was adjudged innocent.

23. This year at last relieved the Romans from the long war with Tacfarinas the Numidian. For the former generals, as soon as they believed their exploits had entitled them to the honour of triumphal distinctions, always abandoned the enemy. Insomuch that there were already in Rome three statues adorned with laurel;² but still Tacfarinas was ravaging Africa, reinforced by auxiliaries from the Moors, who had exchanged for war the oppression of the king's freedmen, and the commands of slaves, to which they were subject

¹ Seriphus, a small island in the Ægean sea, mentioned by Juvenal:—

"—— Et parva tandem caruisse Seripho."—Sat. vi. 563.

And again—

"Ut Gyari clausus scopulis, parvaque Seripho."—Sat. x.

² The three statues were, for Furius Camillus, book ii. s. 52; L. Apronius, book iii. s. 21; Junius Blæsus, book iii. s. 72.

under the government of Ptolemy, son of Juba, who, from his youth and inexperience, suffered things to take their own course. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the king of the Garamantes: not that this king marched at the head of an army, but only sent out light parties, which were magnified by report as coming from a distance. From the province itself, too, flowed in all that were bankrupt in fortune, all that were disorderly in their lives; the more readily, because the emperor, after the feats performed by Blæsus, as if there had no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth legion to be withdrawn: nor durst Publius Dolabella, proconsul there in that year, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the prince than the casualties of the war.

24. Tacfarinas, therefore, disseminated a rumour, "that several other nations also were tearing piecemeal the Roman power; that hence their forces were by degrees being drawn off from Africa; and that the remainder might be wholly destroyed, if all to whom liberty was dearer than bondage would exert themselves in the cause." By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he besieged the city of Thubuscum. But Dolabella, drawing together what soldiers were there, at his first approach raised the siege, by the terror of the Roman name, and because the Numidians cannot stand a regular encounter with our foot. He likewise established fortified posts in convenient situations; and at the same time executed the chiefs of the Musulamians, who were on the point of commencing a revolt. Then, since, from many expeditions against Tacfarinas, it was manifest that an enemy so desultory in his motions could not be brought to close quarters by a heavily equipped army, and by bearing upon him with a single force, he called to his aid king Ptolemy, with a body of his subjects, and formed four bands, commanded by lieutenant-generals and tribunes; while predatory bands were led on by chosen Moors: the proconsul himself superintending the whole operations.

25. Not long after, tidings came, "that the Numidians had pitched their huts near a decayed fort called Auzea, which they had formerly set fire to; trusting now to its

¹ See this book, s. 5, note. This Ptolemy was put to death by Caligula A. U. C. 793. Suet. in Calig. s. 26.

situation, because it was shut in on every side by wild and extensive forests." The light infantry and allied cavalry were then hastily marched off at a rapid pace, not knowing whither they were being led; and just at dawn of day, with trumpets sounding and terrific shouts, they came upon the Numidians, still half asleep, their horses tethered, or straggling loosely at grass. The Romans were come prepared for battle—their foot in close array, their cavalry marshalled: the enemy, on the contrary, utterly surprised and bewildered, without arms, or order, or plan, were, with all the passiveness of sheep, routed, slaughtered, or captured. The soldiers, 'exasperated by the remembrance of their toils, and encountering a foe that had so often eluded them, severally took their fill of vengeance and of blood in the engagement so often wished for. Through all the ranks the word ran, "that they must try to get hold of Tacfarinas, known to them in so many conflicts: that there would be no rest from war unless he were killed." As for Tacfarinas, his guards slain around him, his son a prisoner, and the Romans pouring upon him on all sides, he rushed upon the darts, and escaped captivity by a death not uncompensated with the blood of his foe. And thus an end was put to the war.

26. Dolabella solicited triumphal ornaments, but was refused by Tiberius, in consideration of Sejanus; that the fame of his uncle Blæsus might not lose its lustre. But the fame of Blæsus shone no brighter for this; while to Dolabella increase of glory accrued from withholding the honour due to him, for he had reaped the renown of taking illustrious prisoners, slaying the general, and terminating the war with an inferior army. He was also attended by ambassadors from the Garamantes—a rare sight in Rome! That nation, struck with the death of Tacfarinas, and not unconscious of guilt, had sent them to appease the resentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of Ptolemy during that war was known, a custom of remote antiquity was revived in his favour, and one of the senators sent to deliver him an ivory sceptre and painted robe (the ancient presents of the senate); and to salute him as "King, Friend, and Confederate."

27. The same summer, the seeds of a Servile War spread through Italy were prevented from developing themselves by a lucky accident. The author of the commotion was Titus

Curtisius, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards. First by clandestine meetings at Brundusium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by orders publicly issued, he was inviting to liberty the agrarian slaves, through the wild and remote forests, and such as were of a turbulent spirit; when, as it were by the bounty of the gods, three galleys, destined for the necessities of those who frequented that sea, landed there. Curtius Lupus too, the quæstor, was then in these parts; for to him had fallen, according to ancient custom, the province of Cales. Lupus marshalled the mariners, and dissipated the conspiracy then just breaking out. Staius the tribune, despatched thither by the emperor with an efficient force, haled the leader himself, and his most resolute partisans, to Rome,—already in a state of alarm, on account of the multitude of slaves, that were augmenting immensely, while the fræeborn commonalty daily dwindled away.

28. During the same consulship, there were brought before the senate a father as defendant and his son the accuser, both named Vibius Serenus¹—a deplorable example of wretchedness and inhumanity: the father, dragged from exile, covered with filth and squalid from neglect, and moreover bound in chains, heard himself impleaded by his son. The young man, dressed for the occasion with studied elegance, his countenance cheerful and elated, alleged “a plot framed against the emperor, and that some of the conspirators were sent into Gaul to instigate a rebellion there,”—at once a witness and an informer. He likewise charged “Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly prætor, with having furnished money.” But he, from the pain of anxiety, and because the accusation was regarded as tantamount to destruction, anticipated death by his own hand. The accused, on the other side, with a spirit undismayed, turning full upon his son, and clanking his chains, invoked “the avenging gods, that to himself they would give back his place of banishment, where he might dwell far away from such practices; and that just vengeance might one day overtake his son.” He insisted, too, “that Cornutus was innocent, and only terrified with forged crimes; as might be easily learnt if other accomplices were produced; for it was

¹ We have seen Vibius Serenus, the father, who had been proconsul in Spain, banished to the island of Amorgos; this book, s. 13. See also book ii. s. 30.

not probable that, with one confederate only, he should have meditated the murder of the prince, and a change of the state."

29. The accuser then named Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tübero, to the great confusion of Tiberius; when men of the first rank in Rome, his own intimate friends, Lentulus in extreme old age, Tübero worn out with infirmities, were charged with seditious movements and designs of innovation. But they indeed were instantly acquitted. Against the father his slaves were examined upon the rack; and their examination went against the accuser; who, distracted with guilt, and frightened besides with the language of the populace, who menaced him with the dungeon, the rack, and the punishment of parricides, fled the city. He was dragged back from Ravenna, and compelled to prosecute his accusation; Tiberius not concealing his old hatred to the exile Serenus: for after the condemnation of Libo,¹ he had by letters upbraided the emperor, that such signal zeal as he had shown in that trial remained without reward: he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the ears of a prince proud and prone to take offence. These matters were eight years after revived by Tiberius, who charged him with many misdemeanours during that interval, though, through the obstinacy of his slaves, nothing, he said, could be discovered by torture.

30. The votes being then taken, and Serenus sentenced "to death according to the custom of antiquity;" Tiberius, to soften the public odium, interposed. Then Asinius Gallus moved, "to confine him to the Isle of Gyarus or Donusa:" a motion which Tiberius also rejected; arguing, "that both these isles were destitute of water; and that to whom they granted life, the conveniences of life ought likewise to be granted." So Serenus was carried back to Amorgos. And now, as Cornutus had died by his own hands, it was moved "to abrogate the rewards of informers,"² as often as any person

¹ For the iniquitous proceedings against Libo, see book ii. s. 27.

² When the person accused was found guilty, the fourth part of his estate and effects went to the prosecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property descended to his heirs; and, in that case, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiscus*, the imperial exchequer, that is, out of his own coffers. Tiberius, no doubt, felt uneasy under the burden of so heavy an expense.

charged with treason should, before judgment passed, put an end to his own life." And this motion was being carried, but Tiberius, in behalf of the informers, openly complained, with sternness, and contrary to his custom, "that the laws would be defeated, and the commonwealth placed in imminent peril: that they should rather dissolve the laws than dismiss their guardians." Thus the informers, a description of men called into existence to prey upon the vitals of society, and never sufficiently restrained even by penalties, were now encouraged by rewards.

31. This so long continued series of sad events was interrupted by a degree of joy from the pardon extended by Tiberius to Cominius, who had been convicted of writing defamatory verses upon him, at the instance of his brother, a senator: an event which made it the more astonishing, that he who knew better things, and the fair fame that waits on clemency, should prefer severity. For neither did he err from want of discernment; nor is it difficult to distinguish when the doings of princes are applauded with sincerity, and when they are received with simulated satisfaction. Nay, even Tiberius, upon other occasions studied and artificial in his manner, and as if struggling to give utterance to his sentiments, yet, whenever he spoke as an advocate, delivered himself with readiness and volubility. But Publius Suilius, formerly *quæstor* to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a judge, and for which he was about to be sentenced to be excluded from Italy, the emperor adjudged him to banishment into an island, with such earnestness of feeling, that with the solemnity of an oath he declared it "for the interest of the commonwealth:" a proceeding which, though at the time regarded as harsh, turned afterwards to his praise, when Suilius returned to Rome: a following age saw that exile possessed of extravagant power; abandoned to venality, and employing his friendship with Claudius, which he long enjoyed, in all cases for his own advancement, but never in the cause of virtue. Catus Firmius the senator was adjudged to the same punishment, "for having forged charges of treason against his own sister." Catus, as I have before declared, had involved Libo¹ in guilt by insidious arts, and then, by informing against him, procured his overthrow.

¹ See above, book ii. s. 27.

Tiberius, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, deprecated the sentence of banishment; but made no opposition to his expulsion from the senate.

32. I am aware that most of the transactions which I have related, or shall hereafter relate, may perhaps appear unimportant, and too trivial to be recorded. But none must compare these my Annals with the writings of those who compiled the history of the ancient Roman people. They had for their subjects mighty wars, cities sacked, kings routed and taken captive: or if they turned from these to treat of domestic affairs, they had before them an unlimited field of digression in the dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes, the agrarian laws, the corn laws, and the contests between the commons and the patricians. The matter on which I am occupied is circumscribed, and unproductive of renown to the author—a state of undisturbed peace, or only interrupted in a limited degree, the sad condition of affairs in the city, and a prince indifferent about extending the bounds of the empire. Not unprofitable, however, will it be to investigate matters which, though unimportant in a superficial view, frequently give the first impulse to events of magnitude.

33. For all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rulers. The form of government consisting of elements selected from these and blended together, is easier applauded than realised; or if realised, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the senate bore the chief sway, it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be managed; and such too as were most thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of the senate and leading men, were esteemed skilful in the times, practical and wise statesmen: so now, under an altered condition of affairs, when the government of Rome is no other than the arbitrary rule of one man,¹ it will be of advantage to collect and record these matters; since few can by their own foresight distinguish between honesty and knavery, between counsels pernicious and profit-

¹ The forms of the republican government were still preserved; the magistrates retained their ancient names; "*eadem magistratum vocabula*;" but the emperor presided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the sole direction of all civil business.

able ; but most men are instructed by the examples of others. But this detail, as conferring future benefit, is far from affording present gratification. For the descriptions of countries, the alternations of success in war, the fate of illustrious generals, engage the attention of readers and prevent it from flagging. For myself, I have only to record the mandates of despotism, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence ; one unvarying repetition of causes terminating in the same event, and presenting no novelty from their similarity and tiresome reiteration. Besides that the old historians are rarely censured ; nor is any man now concerned whether they laud with greater zeal the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under Tiberius suffered punishment, or were branded with infamy, the posterity are still subsisting ; and though the families themselves may be extinct, you will find those who, from a similitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themselves are censured : nay, even virtue and a glorious name create enemies, as they expose the opposite characters by too close a contrast. But I return to my undertaking.

34. Whilst Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa were consuls, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned for that, "having published annals and in them praised Brutus, he had styled Cassius the last of the Romans :"¹ a new crime, and then first heard of. Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta were his accusers ; creatures of Sejanus. This circumstance, and the fact that Tiberius received his defence with a countenance of settled austerity, formed a fatal omen to the accused ; who having made up his mind to die, thus expressed himself : "As to facts I am so guiltless, conscript fathers, that my words only are accused : but neither are any words of mine pointed against the emperor, or his mother ; who are the only persons comprehended in the law of violated majesty. It is alleged that I have praised Brutus and Cassius ; men whose lives and actions have been compiled by many writers, but by none without encomiums. Titus Livius, an historian eminently renowned for eloquence and veracity, signalized Pompey with such abundant praises, that he was by Augustus named Pom-

¹ Plutarch informs us that this was said by Brutus of his friend Cassius. Probably, therefore, Cremutius repeated and approved this saying of Brutus ; who would otherwise himself, as the survivor of Cassius, have rather deserved this honourable distinction,

peianus ; nor did this interfere with their friendship. Neither Scipio, nor Afranius, nor even this same Cassius, nor this same Brutus, are any where mentioned by him as ruffians and parricides, the common appellations now bestowed on them ; but often as great and distinguished men. The writings of Asinius Pollio have handed down the memory of the same men in honourable characters ; Corvinus Messala gloried to have had Cassius for his general : and yet both Pollio and Corvinus continued in the uninterrupted enjoyment of wealth and honours under Augustus. That book of Cicero's, in which he exalted Cato to the skies ; what other animadversion did it draw from Cæsar the dictator, than a written reply, as if appealing to judges ? The letters of Mark Antony, the speeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches against Augustus ; unfounded indeed, but urged with signal asperity ; the poems of Bibaculus, and those of Catullus, filled with virulent satires against the Cæsars, still are read. But even the deified Julius, even the deified Augustus, bore all these invectives and passed them over ; whether with greater moderation or wisdom, it were difficult to say. For, if they are despised, they fade away ; if you show displeasure, they seem to be admitted as true.

35. "I refer not to the Greeks : with them not the freedom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished : or if any correction is applied, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever freely allowed, without exciting the censure of any one, to pass our judgment upon those whom death had withdrawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are Cassius and Brutus now in arms ? do they fill with armed troops the fields of Philippi ? or do I fire the Roman people by inflammatory harangues, to stir up the spirit of civil war ? Brutus and Cassius, who fell now more than seventy years ago, are still known in their statues, which even the conqueror did not abolish : and as these exhibit their persons, why not the historian their characters ? Posterity renders to every man his proper praise : nor will there be wanting such as, if my death is determined, will not only revive the story of Cassius and Brutus, but even mine." Having thus said, he withdrew from the senate, and starved himself to death.¹ The fathers

¹ Seneca, de Consolatione ad Marciam, cap. xxii., gives a circumstantial account of his death. He was three days starving himself. Compare also the commencement of the same treatise.

condemned the books to be burned by the ædiles ; but there remained copies, which were concealed and afterwards brought out : whence we may with the greater justice deride the stupidity of those who imagine that they can, by an exertion of contemporary power, extinguish the memorial of events among succeeding generations : for, on the contrary, the punishment of authors of genius exalts the credit of their writings : nor have foreign kings, or any others who have resorted to the same severity, produced any other effect than infamy to themselves and glory to the sufferers.

36. To proceed : this whole year there was such an uninterrupted series of accusations, that even during the solemnity of the Latin festival,¹ when Drusus, for the purpose of his inauguration as præfect of the city, had ascended the tribunal, he was accosted by Calpurnius Salvianus with a charge against Sextus Marius ; a proceeding openly resented by the emperor ; and which led to the banishment of Salvianus. The city of Cyzicus was next accused of not observing the established worship of the deified Augustus ; with additional charges of acts of violence committed upon Roman citizens. Thus that city lost her liberties, which, by her behaviour during the Mithridatic war, she had earned ; having sustained a siege, and, as much by her own bravery as by the aid of Lucullus, repulsed the king. But Fonteius Capito, who had as proconsul governed Asia, was acquitted upon proof that the crimes brought against him by Vibius Serenus² were forged : and yet the forgery drew no penalty upon Serenus : for the public hate rendered him the more secure : for every accuser, the more eager and busy he was, the more he resembled one whose person is sacred and inviolable : those who practised on a small scale and were not in repute, were punished.

37. About the same time, the furthestmost Spain³ besought the senate by their ambassadors, “ that, after the example of

¹ The Latin festival was instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of May, on the Mount Albanus, near the ruins of the city of Alba. (Livy, lib. li. s. 16.) The consuls and other magistrates went forth in procession ; and, during their absence, a person of high rank was chosen to discharge the functions of consul, and preserve the peace of the city. See Annals, book vi. s. 11. In conformity with this custom, we find Drusus acting on this occasion.

² The son who accused his father : see this book, c. 28.

³ Lusitania and Bætica ; now Portugal, Andalusia, and Grenada.

Asia, they might erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother." Upon this occasion, the emperor, always resolute in contemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute those who represented him as chargeable with having deviated into ambition, spoke in this manner : " I know, conscript fathers, that it is ascribed to a defect in firmness in me, that when the cities of Asia lately preferred the same petition, I withstood them not. I shall therefore now unfold at once the motives of my silence then, and the rules which for the future I am determined to observe. Since the deified Augustus had not opposed the founding at Pergamus of a temple to himself and the city of Rome; I, with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, have followed an example already approved, the more cheerfully, because to the worship bestowed upon me, the adoration of the senate was annexed. But as the admission of it in one instance will find pardon, so a general latitude of being hallowed through every province under the representations of the deities, would denote a vain spirit; a heart swelled with ambition. The homage paid to Augustus will also fade, if it is made common by indiscriminate and unmerited acts of adoration.

38. "For myself, conscript fathers, that I am a mortal man; that I am confined to the functions of human nature; and that if I well supply the principal place amongst you, it suffices me, I solemnly assure you, and I would have posterity remember it. They will render enough to my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors; watchful of your interests; unmoved in perils, and, in defence of the public weal, fearless of private enmities. These are the temples I would raise in your breasts; these are the fairest effigies, and such as will endure. As for those of stone, if the judgment of posterity changes from favour to dislike, they are despised as no better than sepulchres. Hence it is I here invoke the gods, that to the end of my life they would grant me a spirit undisturbed, and discerning in duties human and divine: and hence too I implore our citizens and allies, that, whenever my dissolution comes, they would celebrate my actions and the odour of my name with praises and benevolent testimonies of remembrance." And thenceforward he persevered in slighting upon all occasions, and even in private

conversation, this worship of himself: a conduct which was by some ascribed to modesty; by many to distrust of his merit; by others to degeneracy of spirit. "For men of the most exalted virtue have ever coveted the highest honours: thus Hercules and Bacchus amongst the Greeks, and with us Romulus, were added to the society of the gods: Augustus had chosen the nobler part, who hoped for deification: all the other gratifications of princes are readily procured: one object only is to be pursued insatiably; the applauding voice of posterity. For by contemning fame, the virtues that acquire it are contemned."

39. Now Sejanus, infatuated with excess of fortune, and moreover stimulated by the importunity of Livia,¹ who, with the restless passion of a woman, craved the promised marriage, composed a memorial to the emperor; for it was then the custom to apply to him in writing,² though he were present. The form in which it was conceived was this: "That he had been so familiarized to the kindness of Augustus, and subsequently to the numerous decisions of Tiberius in his favour, that he would not address his hopes and prayers to the gods rather than to the ears of princes; nor of them had he ever sought the glare of honours: watching and toils, like one of the common soldiers, for the safety of the prince, had been his choice. However, what was most glorious for him, he had attained,—to be thought worthy of alliance with the emperor.³ Hence the foundation of his present hopes: and, since he had heard that Augustus, in the disposal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts even of some of the Roman knights; he therefore begged that, if a husband were sought for Livia, Tiberius would remember his friend, who would seek no other advantage than the high honour of the alliance; for he would not solicit exemption from the duties imposed upon him, but hold it sufficient that his house was fortified against the injurious animosity of Agrippina: and in

¹ The sister of Germanicus, and lately wife of Drusus. See this book, c. 3.

² The custom was begun by Julius Cæsar, and continued by Augustus. Suetonius, in Aug. s. 84, and Plut. Cæs. 17.

³ The daughter of Sejanus was to have been married to Drusus, the son of Claudius. Annals, book iii. 29; this book, c. 7.

this he only consulted the security of his children; for himself, his own life would be abundantly long, if he might continue it during the life of such a prince."

40. In answer, Tiberius, having praised the loyalty of Sejanus, recapitulated cursorily the instances of his own favours towards him, and required time, as it were for a thorough deliberation; and then added: "That all other men were, in their deliberations, guided by views of their own interest. Far different was the lot of princes, who were in their most important actions to consider fame. He therefore did not resort to that trite subterfuge in his reply,—that Livia could herself determine whether, after Drusus, she ought again to marry, or patiently continue under the same household gods,—that she had a mother and grandmother, advisers more nearly related to her. He would deal more candidly with him: and, first, as to the enmity of Agrippina, it would flame out with far more fury, if, by the marriage of Livia, the family of the Cæsars were rent as it were into two contending parties; that, even as things stood, the emulation of these ladies broke out, and by their animosities, his grandsons were assailed by conflicting influences. What would be the consequence if, by such a marriage, the strife were inflamed? For you are deceived, Sejanus, if you think to continue then in the same rank as now; or that Livia, she who was first the wife of the young Caius Cæsar, and afterwards the wife of Drusus, will be of a temper to grow old with a husband no higher than a Roman knight: nay, allowing that I suffered you afterwards to remain what you are; do you believe that they who saw her father, her brother, and the ancestors of our house, enjoying the highest dignities, will ever suffer it? You indeed propose, yourself, to stand still in the same station; but the great magistrates and nobles, who, in spite of you, break in upon you, and consult you in all affairs, make no secret of complaining that you have long exceeded the equestrian eminence, and far outgone in power all the confidants of my father; and from their envy of you, they also censure me. But still, you say, Augustus deliberated about giving his daughter to a Roman knight. It is a wonderful thing, to be sure, if, perplexed with a crowd of distracting cares, and foreseeing that the man would be raised to an unbounded height, whomsoever he dignified with

such a match, he talked of Proculeius,¹ and certain others like him, remarkable for their retired habits, and not at all mixed up with politics! But if we are influenced by the hesitation of Augustus, how much more powerful is his decision; since he bestowed his daughter on Agrippa, and then on me? These are considerations which, in friendship, I have not withheld: however, neither your own inclinations, nor those of Livia, shall be thwarted by me. The secret purposes of my own heart towards you, and with what further ties of affinity I am contriving to bind you to me, I shall at present forbear to recount. Thus much only I will disclose, that there is nothing so high which those virtues of yours, and your zeal towards me, do not merit; and when opportunity presents, either in the senate or in a popular assembly, I shall not suppress my sentiments."

41. In answer to this, Sejanus, no longer solicitous about the marriage, but filled with higher apprehensions, besought him "to resist the dark suggestions of suspicion, the pratings of the vulgar, and the assaults of envy." And lest by refusing admission to the suitors, who incessantly thronged his house, he might impair his power; or, by encouraging them, furnish a handle to his accusers, he adopted the expedient of urging the emperor to pass his time in some agreeable situation far from Rome. From this counsel he foresaw many advantages: upon himself would depend all access to the emperor; the letters would, as the soldiers were the carriers, be for the most part under his direction; in a little time the prince, now declining in years, and enervated by retirement, would more easily transfer to him the whole charge of the empire: the envy felt towards himself would be diminished by getting rid of the crowd of visitors, and though the empty parade of power was removed, he would possess more of its essentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, the throng of people, the conflux of suitors, applauding "retirement and quiet; which afford the greatest facilities for deliberation on the most im-

¹ Proculeius is mentioned by Horace:—

"Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,

Notus in fratres animi paterni."—Carm. II. ii. 5.

He was brother of Terentia the wife of Mæcenas, and the intimate friend of Augustus.

portant matters, unwearied by importunities and unexposed to annoyance from the dissatisfied."

42. There happened, too, about that time, the trial of Votienus Montanus,¹ a celebrated wit, which induced the hesitating Tiberius to resolve upon shunning all assemblies of the fathers, and the true and painful reflections which were there unsparingly uttered to his face. For, as Votienus was charged with calumnies spoken against Cæsar, Æmilius the witness, of the military profession, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehearsed every tittle he had heard; and notwithstanding the clamour raised to stop his mouth, he persisted in the detail with obstinate pertinacity. Tiberius heard the reproaches by which he was secretly lacerated; and he was so struck, that he exclaimed passionately, "that he would instantly clear himself, or establish a judicial investigation:" and the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, were scarcely sufficient to calm him. Votienus, indeed, suffered the pains of treason;² but Tiberius persisted with so much more obstinacy in the harshness imputed to him, that he punished Aquilia with exile, for adultery with Varius Ligur; though she had been sentenced by Lentulus Getulicus, consul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law.³ He also erased Apidius Merula from the roll of senators, "because he had not sworn upon the acts of the deified Augustus."

43. Next were heard ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, about their claim to the temple of Diana Limnatis; which the Lacedæmonians asserted to be theirs, "founded in their territory, and dedicated by their ancestors;" and offered as proofs the ancient records of their annals,

¹ Of this Montanus, a noted orator and declaimer, we have the following character in Seneca the rhetorician: "Habet hoc Montanus vitium: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere, efficit ut ne bene dixerit. Propter hoc solebat Montanum Scaurus inter oratores Ovidium vocare."—Controvers. iv. cap. 28.

² We learn from Eusebius, in his Chronicon, that he was banished to the Balearic Islands, where he finished his days.

³ There were two modes of expulsion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio*; the other *exilium*. The former was a mere order of removal to a certain distance; but the person so punished did not forfeit his property, nor the freedom of the city. Banishment took away every right. Tiberius chose, on this occasion, to inflict the heavier punishment. The *deportatio in insulam* was a still severer sentence than either of the above.

and the hymns of the old poets; "but it had been taken from them forcibly by Philip of Macedon, having been at war with him; but restored afterwards by the sentence of Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony." The Messenians, on the contrary, pleaded "the ancient partition of Peloponnesus amongst the descendants of Hercules; and that the territory of Denthelia, where the temple stood, had fallen to their king; memorials of which event still remained, engraven on stone and old tables of brass: but if the testimony of histories and poets were appealed to, they themselves had the most and the fullest. Nor had Philip, in his decision, acted by virtue of his power, but from equity:—the same was the adjudication of king Antigonos:¹ the same that of the general Mummius.² Thus, too, the Milesians had awarded, who were by both states chosen arbitrators: and thus, lastly, it had been determined by Atidius Geminus, prætor of Achaia."³ It was given, therefore, in favour of the Messenians. The citizens also of Segesta⁴ applied to have "the temple of Venus on Mount Eryx, which had fallen into decay through age, restored." They represented the well-known, and to Tiberius gratifying, story of its origin, who willingly took upon himself the charge, as a kinsman to the goddess.⁵ Then was discussed the petition from the citizens of Marseilles, and the precedent of Publius Rutilius was approved: for Rutilius, though by a law expelled from Rome, had been by the Smyrnæans adopted a citizen: and as Volcatius Moschus, another exile, had found at Marseilles the same privilege and reception, he had left his estate to their republic, as his country.

44. Those noble Romans, Cneius Lentulus and Lucius

¹ Antigonos, king of Macedonia, died in the 4th year of the 139th Olympiad, A. U. C. 533.

² Lucius Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, A. U. C. 603.

³ When Greece was reduced to subjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of Achaia.

⁴ A town in Sicily, now Castel a Mare, in the vale of Mazara. The temple of Venus Erycina was afterwards rebuilt by Claudius. (Suet. Life of Claudius.)

⁵ This temple was reported to have been founded by Æneas, son of Venus, (Virg. *Æn.* v. 759,) and from Iulus, son of Æneas, the Gens Julia was descended. Tiberius, as the adopted son of Augustus, had become a member of this Gens.

Domitius,¹ died this year. Lentulus, to the consulship, and the ensigns of triumph over the Getæ, had added that of poverty honourably borne; and afterwards a splendid fortune, virtuously acquired and modestly enjoyed. Upon Domitius devolved the lustre of his father, who in the civil war held the dominion of the sea, till he espoused first the interest of Mark Antony, and then that of Augustus: his grandfather had fallen for the cause of the senate in the battle of Pharsalia. He himself was chosen for the husband of the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia: he afterwards led an army over the Elbe, and advanced further into Germany than any Roman before him, for which he obtained the insignia of triumph. Then also died Lucius Antonius, of a race highly illustrious, but unhappy: for, Julius Antonius, his father, having suffered death for adultery with Julia, Augustus removed this Lucius, then a child, and the grandson of his sister, to the city of Marseilles, where, under pretence of pursuing his studies, the name of exile might be veiled. Funeral honours were however paid him, and by a decree of the senate his bones were deposited in the tomb of the Octavii.

45. During the same consulship, an atrocious crime was perpetrated in Nether Spain, by a peasant of the Termetinian nation,² who surprised and struck dead with a single wound, Lucius Piso,³ governor of the province, as he travelled careless and unattended, as in a state of peace. The assassin, however, escaped to a forest by the fleetness of his horse, and there turned him loose: from thence travelling over rocks and pathless places, he baffled his pursuers: but he did not long escape detection; for his horse being taken and shown through the neighbouring villages, it was discovered who was the owner. When found and put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaimed with a loud voice, in the language of his country,

¹ Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. His son, Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero.

² The name of their city was Termes, now Tiermes.

³ He was probably son of the city prefect mentioned below (book vi. 10), and the same who is addressed by Horace in his Art of Poetry, l. 366:—

“O major juvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapias.”

"that in vain they questioned him; his associates might stand by and look on: that no force of torture could extort the truth from him." Next day, as he was dragged back to the rack, he burst with so vehement an effort from his guard, and dashed his head so violently against a stone, that he instantly expired. But Piso is believed to have been assassinated from a plot of the Terrestinians; as in exacting the repayment of some public money, which had been embezzled, he acted with more asperity than a barbarian people could endure.

46. In the consulship of Lentulus Getulicus and Caius Calvisius, the insignia of triumph were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus for having routed some clans of Thracians, who, living wildly on the high mountains,¹ conducted themselves with the greater contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, in addition to the savage genius of the people, was their scorn at having recruits raised amongst them, and all their stoutest men enlisted in our armies; accustomed as they were not even to obey their native kings, excepting according to their caprice, nor to aid them with forces but under captains of their own choosing, nor to fight against any enemy but their own borderers. A rumour was then also current amongst them, that they were to be dispersed and mixed with other nations, and thus dragged away to distant countries. But before they took up arms, they sent ambassadors to Sabinus, to represent "their past friendship and submission, and that the same should continue, if they were provoked by no fresh impositions: but if, like a people subdued by war, they were doomed to bondage, they had able men and steel, and souls determined upon liberty or death." The ambassadors at the same time pointed to their strongholds, founded upon precipitous rocks, whither they had conveyed their wives and parents, and threatened a war intricate, hazardous, and sanguinary.

47. Sabinus amused them with gentle answers till he could draw together his army; when Pomponius Labeo arrived with a legion from Mœsia, and king Rhemetaces with an auxiliary body of his countrymen who had not renounced their allegiance. With these and what forces he had of his own, he marched towards the foe, now disposed in the passes of the forest: some, more bold, presented them-

¹ Mount Hæmus; see below, c. 51.

selves upon the hills: then the Roman general approaching, gave them battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with small slaughter of the Barbarians, because they had refuge at hand. Here he soon after raised an encampment, and with a stout band took possession of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortress, which was garrisoned by a great host of armed men and rabble: and as the most resolute were, according to the custom of the nation, gambolling without the fortification in dances and songs, he forthwith despatched against them a select body of archers. These, while they only poured in volleys of arrows at a distance, wounded many with impunity; but, approaching too near, were by a sudden sally thrown into disorder; being received by a cohort of the Sigambrians,¹ a people prompt in encountering danger, and no less terrible from their war-cries and the clangour of their arms, whom Sabinus had posted at a short distance.

48. He afterwards moved his camp nearer to the enemy; leaving in his former entrenchments the Thracians, who, as I have mentioned, had joined us, with permission "to lay waste burn, and plunder, on condition that their ravages were confined to the day; and that, at nights, they kept within the camp, secure and under guard." This restriction was at first observed; but, soon lapsing into luxury, and enriched with plunder, they neglected their guards, and resigned themselves to excessive feasting, or wallowed in sleep and intoxication. The enemy, therefore, apprised of their negligence, formed themselves into two bands; one to set upon the plunderers, the other to assault the Roman camp, not with the hope of taking it, but that the soldiers, alarmed with shouts and darts, and each intent upon the danger which threatened himself, might not hear the din of the other battle: moreover, to heighten the terror, night was chosen for the operation. But those who assailed the lines of the legions were easily repulsed; the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the sudden assault; some of them lying near the entrenchments, many roaming without them, they were slain with the more relentless vengeance, as they were charged with "being fugitives and traitors who bore arms to enslave their country and themselves."


49. Next day Sabinus drew up his army on level ground;

¹ See note on book ii. 26.

to try if, elated with their success by night, they would venture a battle: and, when they still kept within the fortress, or on the chain of hills, he began a siege by means of the works he was then fortifying, and which were convenient for the purpose: and then forming a fosse and breastwork, he carried his lines round for a space of four miles. Then, to deprive them of water and forage, he straitened his barriers by degrees, and hemmed them in still closer. A rampart was also raised, whence, upon the enemy now within reach, were discharged stones, darts, and brands. But nothing distressed them so much as thirst, as only a single fountain remained amongst a huge multitude of the unarmed and armed men: their horses, too, and cattle, penned up with them, after the manner of the country, perished for want of provender: near them lay the bodies of men; some who had died of thirst, some of their wounds; everything foul and tainted with gore, stench, and infection. To these distresses was also added that consummation of all calamities, dissension: some were disposed to surrender; others proposed present death, and to fall upon one another. There were some, too, who advised a sally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were these last mean men, though dissenting from the rest.¹

50. But of their leaders, one named Dinis, a man stricken in years, and by long experience acquainted with the rigour and clemency of the Romans, argued, "that they must lay down their arms, which was the sole remedy for their pressing calamities:" and he first submitted, with his wife and children, to the conqueror. He was followed by all that were weak through sex or age, and such as had a greater love of life than glory. The young men were divided under Tarsa and Turesis; both determined to fall with liberty; but Tarsa declared earnestly "for instant death; and the severance of all hopes and fears at once:" and setting an example, buried his sword in his breast. Nor were there wanting some who despatched themselves the same way. Turesis and his band stayed for night, of which our general was aware. The guards were therefore strengthened with more numerous parties; and now came on a dark night and cloudy in the extreme; and the enemy now with tumultuous shouts, and now with

¹ This last sentence appears to be interpolated.

profound silence, alarmed and embarrassed the besiegers. Sabinus, therefore, went round the camp and warned the soldiers, "that they should not allow an opportunity to the insidious arts of the enemy, deceived by ambiguous noises, or counterfeited stillness; but keep immoveably to their several posts; nor throw their darts at random." 

51. Meanwhile the Barbarians, pouring down in separate troops, now with stones as large as they could grasp, poles hardened at the point in the fire, and with the limbs of trees lopped off, batter the palisade; now with hurdles, fagots, and dead bodies, fill the trench: by others, bridges and ladders, which they had framed beforehand, were planted against the battlements; these they grasped and tore down, and struggled hand to hand with those who opposed them. The Romans, on the other side, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, hurled upon them great mural javelins, and rolled down heaps of stones. These derived additional courage from the confidence inspired by the advantage already gained, and the more signal disgrace if they gave way: those, from the fact that this was their only hope of safety; and that their wives and mothers, who stood near them, urged them on by the lamentations they uttered. The night ministered to the daring of some, to the fears of others; blows were dealt at random, wounds were received they knew not whence; there was no possibility of distinguishing friend or foe. The shouts, reverberated from the cavities of the mountain, seeming to proceed from their rear, involved everything in such confusion that the Romans abandoned some of their works, believing them to have been carried: and yet such of the enemy as broke through were very few. The rest, all their most resolute champions being wounded or slain, were at the returning light driven back to the high ground on which their fort stood, where they were at length forced to surrender; and the neighbouring villages submitted voluntarily: the remainder could not be reduced by storm or siege, as they were protected by the setting in of winter, usually premature and inclement in the regions of Mount Hæmus.

52. At Rome the tranquillity of the prince's family was disturbed: and, to begin the series of destructions which was to end in Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra, her cousin was prose-

cuted; Domitius Afer¹ the accuser. This man, just out of the prætorship, of small estimation, but eager to signalise himself by some notable exploit however heinous, alleged against her the "crimes of prostitution, adultery with Furnius, with witchcraft and spells against the emperor." Agrippina, ever vehement, and then in a flame on account of the perilous situation of her kinswoman, flew to Tiberius, and by chance found him sacrificing to the emperor his father. When, availing herself of the circumstance to upbraid him, she told him "that it was inconsistent in him to offer victims to the deified Augustus and to persecute his children: his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statutes: the genuine images of Augustus were the living descendants from his celestial blood: she herself was one; one sensible of impending danger, and now in the mournful state of a suppliant. In vain was Pulchra set up as the object of attack; when the only cause of her overthrow was her affection for Agrippina, foolishly carried even to adoration, forgetful of Sosia, a sufferer for the same fault."² These words elicited an expression of his sentiments from the close-minded Tiberius, a rare occurrence with him; and laying hold of her, he admonished her in a Greek verse, "that it was no injury to her that she did not reign." Pulchra and Furnius were condemned.³ Afer, having thus spread the fame of his genius, and afterwards received an attestation from Tiberius, in which he pronounced him justly entitled to the appellation of "eloquent," was ranked with the most celebrated orators: afterwards in prosecuting accusations, or in defending the accused, he enjoyed a greater reputation for eloquence than integrity, except that in the latter part of his life he lost much of his oratorical power, still retaining his inability to hold his tongue when his energies were exhausted.

53. Agrippina, who continued inflexible in her resentment, was seized with a fit of illness. The emperor paid her a visit,

¹ Domitius Afer, an orator highly commended by Quintilian. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 13.

² Sosia, the wife of Silius: see this book, c. 19 and 20.

³ Suetonius relates this, and says Tiberius never afterwards conversed with Agrippina: "Tiberius quiddam quæstam, manu apprehendit; Græcoque versu, Si non dominaris, inquit, filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas. Nec ullo post sermone digratus est."—In Tib. s. 53.

when after a long silence, during which she shed a profusion of tears, she at length accosted him with expostulations and prayers "that he would relieve her solitude, and give her a husband. She was still young enough for the married state; to virtuous women there was no consolation but that of marriage; and Rome afforded men who would think it no dishonour to receive the wife of Germanicus and his children." Tiberius was not ignorant what power in the state was involved in that request, but, that he might betray no tokens of resentment or fear, he left her, though instant with him, without an answer. This passage, not related by the authors of our annals, I found in the commentaries of her daughter Agrippina,¹ who was the mother of the emperor Nero, and has published her own life and the fortunes of her family.

54. Agrippina, still grieving, and not anticipating anything of the kind, was yet more deeply wounded by an artifice of Sejanus, who employed emissaries, under colour of friendship, to warn her, "that poison was prepared for her, and that she must avoid eating at her father-in-law's table." She was a stranger to all dissimulation: so that as she sat near him at table, she continued speechless, not moving a muscle of her face, or touching any of the viands. At length Tiberius observed her, whether accidentally, or that he was before apprised; and to put the matter to a severer test, praising the apples that stood before him, he presented some with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increased the suspicion of Agrippina; and, without ever putting them to her mouth, she delivered them to the servants. For all this, Tiberius let not a word drop from him openly; but, turning to his mother, "There was no wonder," he said, "if he took rigorous measures with her who thus charged him as a poisoner." Hence a rumour spread, "that her doom was meditated; and that the emperor, not daring to accomplish it publicly, some secret method of perpetrating the deed was sought."

55. Tiberius, to divert the popular talk, assiduously attended the senate, and heard for many days ambassadors from Asia, who were contending, "in what city should be built the temple lately decreed." For this honour eleven cities

¹ She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. Pliny the Elder commends her memoirs, lib. vii. a. 8.

strove, with equal zeal, though dissimilar in importance. Nor did the pleas urged greatly vary: namely, "the antiquity of their origin, and their distinguished zeal for the Roman people, during their several wars with Perseus, Aristonicus,¹ and other kings." But the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magnesians,² and those of Hypæpa, were at once passed over as unequal to the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who represented "that Troy was the mother of Rome," any superior advantage, besides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnassians created some little hesitation: they asserted, "that for twelve hundred years no earthquake had shaken their town, and that they would fix in a solid rock the foundations of the temple." It was thought enough for the inhabitants of Pergamus that they had a temple erected there to Augustus, though on that very circumstance they grounded their claim. The Ephesians and Milesians seemed to have given sufficient employment to their states in the ceremonies of their own deities; the former of Diana, the other of Apollo. Thus the dispute was confined to Sardis and Smyrna. The first recited a decree of the Etrurians, which owned them for kinsmen: "for that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, sons of king Atys, having divided their people because of their multitude, Lydus remained in his native country, and it became the lot of Tyrrhenus to find out a fresh residence; and by the names of these chiefs the parted people came afterwards to be called—Lydians in Asia, Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence of the Lydians spread yet further, by their colonies sent under Pelops into Greece, which afterwards took its name from him." They likewise urged the letters of our generals; their mutual leagues with us during the war of Macedon;³ their fertilizing rivers, temperate climate, and the richness of the surrounding country."

56. The Smyrnæans, having appealed to their ancient records to show "whether Tantalus, the son of Jupiter, or

¹ The war with Perseus, king of Macedon, was A. U. C. 583. Aristonicus invaded Asia A. U. C. 623. From that time, that part of Asia was made a Roman province, and the vices of the East corrupted the Roman manners. "Asia Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit."—Justin. lib. xxxvi. s. 4.

² The inhabitants of Magnesia on the Mæander.

³ The war with Perseus must be here intended.

Theseus, the son also of a god, or one of the Amazons, were their founder;" proceeded to considerations in which they chiefly trusted, their friendly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in those which they had endured in Italy.¹ "It was they who first reared a temple to the city of Rome, in the consulship of Marcus Porcius;² when the power of the Roman people was already great, but not yet raised to its highest glory; for the city of Carthage still stood, and potent kings governed Asia. They referred also to Lucius Sylla as having experienced their generosity when his army was in the most imminent peril from the inclemency of the winter and scarcity of clothes; for when it was reported to the citizens of Smyrna then assembled, all that were present divested themselves of their garments, and sent them to our legions." Thus when the votes of the senators were gathered, the Smyrnæans were preferred. It was also moved by Vibius Marsus, that Manius Lepidus, to whom had fallen the province of Asia, should be attended by an extraordinary legate to superintend the building of the temple; and as Lepidus himself modestly declined to choose one, Valerius Naso was chosen by lot from among those of prætorian rank.

57. In the meantime, according to a design long meditated, and from time to time deferred, Tiberius at last retired to Campania; under pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Augustus; but in truth, determined to remove for ever from Rome. The cause of his departure I have before referred to the intrigues of Sejanus; but though in this I have followed most of our authors, yet since, after the execution of Sejanus, he persisted for six successive years in the same retirement, I am frequently induced to entertain strong doubts whether his absence was not more justly ascribable to his wish to indulge his cruel and libidinous disposition with greater effect, in the secesy of a retired situation. Some believed that, in his old age, he was ashamed of the style of his person; for he was exceedingly emaciated, tall, and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and thickly patched with plasters: he was wont too, during his recess at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and practiso

¹ That is, in the Social War, which raged from B.C. 90 to B.C. 87

² Cato the Censor, who was consul A.U.C. 559

his debaucheries in secrecy. There is also a tradition that he was driven from Rome by the restless spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty; nor yet could entirely exclude, since as her gift he had received the sovereignty itself. For, Augustus had deliberated about placing Germanicus at the head of the Roman state, his sister's grandson, and one applauded by all men: but, subdued by the solicitations of his wife, he adopted Tiberius, and caused Tiberius to adopt Germanicus. With these services Livia upbraided him, and demanded a return for them.¹

58. He was attended on his journey by a slender retinue; one senator, Cocceius Nerva,² formerly consul, an accomplished lawyer; and, besides Sejanus, the only person of distinguished rank was Curtius Atticus,³ a Roman knight. The rest were men of letters, chiefly Greeks,⁴ whose conversation might amuse him. The astrologers declared, "that he had left Rome in such a conjunction of the planets, as for ever to exclude his return." This was a source of destruction to many, who conjectured his end to be at hand, and published their conjectures: nor indeed could they anticipate so improbable a contingency as that for eleven years he should of choice withdraw himself from his country. Subsequently it appeared how narrow is the limit which divides the deductions of the art from falsehood, and what obscurities envelop the truth. "That he should never return to Rome," proved not to be falsely said: as to everything else about him they were perfectly in the dark; since he sojourned sometimes in the adjacent country, sometimes on the neighbouring coast, often under the very walls of the city; and died at last in the fulness of years.

¹ Suetonius says, there was a current report, that Livia, incensed by the haughty carriage of her son, produced the letters of Augustus, complaining of the pride and arrogance of Tiberius. The production of those papers, at such a distance of time, was thought to be his principal reason for leaving Rome. Suet in Tib. s. 51.

² Cocceius Nerva ended his days by abstinence, A. U. C. 736, to withdraw himself from the horror of the times. (Annals, book vi. 26.) Brotier says, he was thought to be father of the emperor Nerva.

³ He was afterwards ruined by Sejanus. See book vi. 10; and Ovid, de Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. iv. and vii.

⁴ These Greek attendants, and the cruelties inflicted on them by Tiberius, are mentioned in Suetonius. Tib. 56. There were also in his train a number of Chaldaean astrologers. Juv. Sat. x. 94.

59. About that time, an accident, which placed the life of Tiberius in imminent danger, gave encouragement to these idle predictions; while to himself it furnished matter of increased confidence in the friendship and constancy of Sejanus. They were taking a repast in a native cave at a villa, called Spelunca,¹ between the Amyclæan sea and the mountains of Fundi, when the stones giving way its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried some of the attendants: all were thrown into a state of alarm, and the company fled; but Sejanus, hanging over the emperor with his knees, face, and hands, intercepted the falling substance: such was the posture he was found in by the soldiers who came to their relief. He derived increased influence from the circumstance, and whatever he advised, though it might tend to death and destruction, he obtained the credit of sincerity with the emperor, as he now seemed to have no thought about himself: so that he assumed the office of a judge against the offspring of Germanicus, and suborned such as were to act the parts of accusers, and especially to persecute Nero, the next in succession; a young prince modest indeed, but for the most part forgetful of what his present situation required, while his freedmen and dependents, eager to acquire power, goaded him on to show a spirit erect and confident; alleging that it was what the Roman people wished, what the army desired: nor would Sejanus dare then to oppose him, though he now equally trampled upon the imbecility of an old man and the supineness of a young one.

60. While he listened to these suggestions, and such as these, though he exhibited no indications of meditated depravity, yet upon occasions he would let fall intemperate and unadvised expressions, which were caught up by the spies set over him, and charged against him with aggravations: neither was he allowed the privilege of clearing himself. Whereupon materials for solicitude presented themselves in a variety of forms; for some cut him, others merely returning his salute, turned instantly away: many, after commencing a conversation, abruptly terminated it; while the creatures of them. Sejanus who were near, made a dead set at them, and jeered. As for Tiberius, he received him either sternly or with a countenance smiling treacherously; and whether the youth spoke,

¹ This was in Campania, on the sea-coast, near Terracina. The villa, according to Brotier, is now called Sperlonga.

or said nothing, crimes were founded on his words, crimes on his silence: nor was he safe even in the night; since his watchings, his dreams, his sighs, were, by his wife,¹ divulged to her mother Livia, and by Livia to Sejanus; who had also drawn his brother Drusus into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate prospect of empire, if his elder brother, already sinking, were once set effectually aside. The genius of Drusus, naturally morose, in addition to the desire of power, and the usual jealousies between brothers, was inflamed with envy because his mother, Agrippina, was fonder of Nero. However, Sejanus did not so far favour Drusus, but that against him too he meditated plans of future destruction; as he knew him to be of an ungovernable spirit. and thence the more obnoxious to insidious machinations.

61. In the end of this year, the following eminent persons died: Asinius Agrippa,² of a family rather illustrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of it; and Quintus Haterius, of a senatorian family, and himself, while he yet lived, famous for eloquence: but the specimens of his genius, since published, are not equally esteemed. In truth, he prevailed more by rapidity than accuracy: and as depth of thought and diligence confer lasting fame upon the works of others, so the melody of voice and fluency of Haterius perished with him.

62. A sudden calamity occurred in the consulship of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, which equalled the havoc of the most destructive wars; its beginning and end were simultaneous. One Atilius had undertaken to erect an amphitheatre at Fidenæ, there to exhibit a combat of gladiators: he was of the race of freedmen, and as he engaged in the business from no exuberance of wealth, nor to acquire popularity amongst the inhabitants, but as a matter of sordid gain, he neither put it upon solid foundations, nor employed braces to strengthen the wooden fabric which formed the superstructure. Thither flocked from Rome persons of every sex and age, eager for such shows, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diversions at home, and in greater crowds

¹ Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, by his wife Livia, or Livilla.

² Asinius Agrippa, grandson to the famous Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, was consul A. U. C. 778. See this book, c. 34.

from the nearness of the place: hence the calamity was the more disastrous; for the theatre being crowded so as to form a dense mass, and then rent asunder, some portions tumbling inwards, others bulging towards the outer parts, a countless number of human beings, either intent upon the spectacle, or standing near around the place, were either borne headlong to the ground or buried under the ruins. Those indeed who were killed by the shock of the first crash, escaped as far as was possible in such a disaster the misery of torture: much more to be pitied were those, who with portions of their bodies torn away, were not yet forsaken of life; those who by day beheld their wives and children, and by night distinguished them by their groans and cries. And now others, summoned to the spot by the sad tidings, bewailed one his brother, another his kinsman, a third his parents: even they whose friends or kindred were absent on a different account, were yet terrified; for as it was not as yet distinctly known who had fallen in the calamity, the alarm spread wider from the uncertainty.

63. When the ruins began to be removed, they crowded round the dead, embracing them and kissing them; and frequently there arose a contest about their identity, where distortion of the features, personal resemblance, or similarity of age had created a liability to error in those who claimed them. Fifty thousand¹ souls were crushed to death or maimed by this sad disaster: it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of the senate, "that no man under the qualification of four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the spectacle of gladiators; and no amphitheatre should be founded but upon ground of proved solidity." Atilius was punished with exile. However, immediately upon this destructive calamity, the doors of the great were thrown open; medicines and physicians were furnished to all; and at that juncture the city, though under an aspect of sorrow, presented an image of the public spirit of the ancient Romans; who, after great battles, relieved and sustained the wounded by their liberality and attentions.

64. The sensation created by this terrible blow had not yet subsided, when the city was visited with a fire which raged with unusual violence, and entirely consumed Mount Cælius. "It was a mournful year," they said, "and under ill-boding

¹ Suetonius says, twenty thousand; in Tib. s. 40.

omens the prince had formed the design of his absence. Such is the way of the multitude ; who are wont to ascribe fortuitous events to evil counsels. But the emperor dissipated their murmurs, by bestowing on each sufferer money to the extent of his damage : hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the senate ; and was rewarded with applause by the populace, “ for that without any views of ambition, or the importunities of friends, he had of his own free will sought out the sufferers though unknown to him, and relieved them by his bounty.” It was likewise decreed, “ that Mount Cælius should be for the future styled ‘ Mount Augustus,’ since there the statue of Tiberius, standing in the house of Junius the senator, alone escaped unhurt, while the flames devoured all around ;¹ that the same had formerly happened to Claudia Quinta ; that her statue, twice spared by the rage of the fire, had been solemnly deposited by our ancestors in the temple of the mother of the gods ; that the Claudian race were sacred and dear to the deities ; and therefore the place where the gods had testified such distinguished honour towards the prince, ought to be dignified with religious reverence.”

65. It will not be improper to mention here, that this mount was of old named Querquetulanus, from a thick and exuberant grove of oaks which grew upon it. It was afterwards commonly called Mount Cælius, from Cæles Vibenna, who having led to Rome a body of Tuscan auxiliaries, was presented with that settlement by Tarquinius Priscus, or some other of our kings ; for in this particular writers differ : about other circumstances there remains no dispute ; that these forces were very numerous, and had their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the forum. Hence the Tuscan Street,² so called after these strangers.

66. But as the zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the prince, had solaced the sufferers under the events of fortune, so the fury of the informers, which grew daily more fierce and relentless, continued its career without alleviation. Quintilius Varus,³ a wealthy man and the emperor's cousin,

¹ Suetonius mentions this conflagration ; in Tib. s. 48.

² The origin of the Tuscan Street is accounted for in a different manner by Livy ; lib. ii. s. 14.

³ The son of Quintilius Varus, who perished with his three legions in Germany ; he was also son-in-law to Germanicus. The prosecution of Claudia Pulchra has been mentioned, this book, c. 52.

was assailed by Domitius Afer, the same who had procured the condemnation of Claudia Pulchra, his mother : nor did any man wonder that he who had lived long in poverty, and had squandered the reward lately earned, should address himself to fresh iniquities : the wonder was, that Publius Dolabella appeared as his associate in the accusation ; because as he was nobly descended, and related to Varus, he was going to efface the glory of his house, and shed kindred blood. The senate however stopped the process, and voted " that the emperor's return was to be waited : " the only course which afforded even a temporary escape from this overwhelming evil.

67. Tiberius, having dedicated the temples in Campania, though he had by an edict warned the public, " that none should interrupt his retirement ; " and though parties of soldiers were posted to prevent the conflux of persons from the neighbouring towns ; nevertheless, hating the municipalities, and the colonies, and all continental situations, secluded himself in Capræ,¹ an island disjoined from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I am strongly inclined to believe that he was taken with its perfect solitude, for the sea in its neighbourhood is void of havens, and the stations even for smaller vessels are few, while none could put in unperceived by the coast-guards.² The temperature of the climate is mild in winter, from the shelter of a mountain, which intercepts the rigour of the winds : its summers are refreshed by gales from the west, and are rendered delightful from the wide expanse of sea which the island commands : before the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius³ had changed the face of the country, there was also a prospect of the lovely bay of Naples. Tradition records that the Greeks occupied the opposite region, and that Capræ was inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, Tiberius chose for his retreat twelve villas,⁴ having different names, and of con-

¹ The isle of Capræ (now Capri) lies at a small distance from the promontory of Surrentum (now Capo della Minerva), and has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view. It is about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. See Addison's description in his *Travels in Italy*.

² For the barbarity with which Tiberius treated all that landed on the island without permission, see Suetonius, in *Tib. a. 60*.

³ The eruption of Vesuvius happened in the reign of Titus, *A.U.C.* 832, *A.D.* 79. Pliny gives a description of it, *lib. vi. epist. xvi. and xx.*

⁴ Suetonius mentions the Villa Jovis, in *Tib. a. 65*. We may hence

siderable magnitude. And the more intent he had formerly been upon public cares, so much the more he became now abandoned to secret debaucheries, and mischievous privacy; for there still remained in him his old unreflecting proneness to suspicion and credulity; qualities which even at Rome Sejanus had always fostered, and here excited with increased assiduity; his devices against Agrippina and Nero being no longer conducted in secret. Soldiers were set to watch them, by whom all messages and visits, their open acts, their private proceedings, were minuted as in journals. Persons were even suborned to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany; or that, embracing the statue of the deified Augustus when the forum was crowded, they would there implore the aid and protection of the senate and people of Rome. And these counsels, though rejected by them, they were charged with having entertained.

68. Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva being consuls, the year began with a disgraceful transaction: Titius Sabinus,¹ an illustrious Roman knight, was hurried to prison on account of his friendship for Germanicus: whose wife and children he alone of all his followers never ceased to reverence, to attend them at home, and accompany them in public: a conduct applauded by the good, but offensive to the worthless. There combined against him, Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opsius, who had been all prætors, and were now looking up to the consulship, to which there was no access but by Sejanus, and the favour of Sejanus was to be purchased only by iniquity. It was settled amongst them that Latiaris, who had a slight acquaintance with Sabinus, should lay the snare, the rest be witnesses, and then begin the accusation. Latiaris therefore accosted him at first with incidental remarks, and then proceeded to praise his constancy, "that he had not, like others, been only a friend to that family when in its glory, and deserted it in affliction." He at the same time spoke in commendation of Germanicus, and bewailed Agrippina. This affected Sabinus; and as the heart of man is easily wrought upon in calamity, he burst into tears,

conclude that the twelve villas were named after the twelve *Dii Majores*.

¹ Sabinus has been already mentioned as a person marked out for destruction by Sejanus; this book, c. 18 and 19.

followed immediately by complaints: he now inveighed more boldly against Sejanus, his cruelty, his pride, and his designs; nor in truth did Tiberius escape his invectives. And now, as between men who had communicated to each other their secret guilt, these conversations led to a show of close friendship: so that Sabinus henceforward sought Latianus of his own accord, frequented his house, and laid open to him all his griefs, as to a most faithful confidant.

69. The persons I have mentioned next consulted how to have these things uttered in the hearing of more: for the place in which they met must wear the appearance of privacy; and if they stood behind the door, there was danger of being seen or heard, or of suspicion arising from some accident. Into the space between the roof and the ceiling, a concealment as vile as the treachery was execrable, three senators stowed themselves, and applied their ears to the chasms and crannies. Latianus meanwhile found Sabinus abroad, and, as if about to tell him some late discoveries, drew him home, and into the chamber: there he recounted the past and present cruelties (for of both there was store), with an accumulation too of fresh terrors. Sabinus took up his former detail with the greater prolixity in proportion as griefs once broached are with difficulty restrained. The accusation was forthwith despatched; and in a written memorial to Tiberius, these senators opened the order of the fraud, and became narrators of their own infamy. At no time was the city in a state of deeper anxiety and alarm, never was there greater need of caution against a man's nearest relatives; men were afraid to meet, afraid to discourse: silence and distrust extended alike to strangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided: even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, were regarded with apprehension.

70. The emperor sent a letter to the senate on the calends of January, and after offering the usual prayer at the entrance of the new year, he turned to Sabinus: ¹ he charged him with "having corrupted some of his freedmen, and aimed at his own life;" and in no obscure terms required vengeance. The condemnation passed without delay, and the condemned was

¹ Pliny (lib. viii. 61) relates a remarkable instance of the affection of Sabinus' dog, displayed at his master's execution.

dragged away to instant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat pinched with a halter; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, "that these were the solemnities with which the year began! such were the victims slain to Sejanus!" Whichever way he cast his eyes, whithersoever he directed his words, nought appeared but flight and solitude; the streets and public places deserted: there were some who having fled, returned, and again exhibited themselves; terrified at this very thing, that they had discovered dread. "What day," they cried, "will be free from executions? when even in the midst of vows and sacrifices—a time when custom has established a forbearance even from profane words—fettters and halters are introduced. That Tiberius knew what he was about in thus incurring so much odium: that it was a studied and preconcerted artifice, that it might be considered that there was nothing to prevent the new magistrates from opening the prisons as well as the temples and the altars." There followed upon this a letter of thanks "for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth:" and he added, "that he lived a life of fear and solicitude; in constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies;" but named none: however, it was not doubted that Agrippina and Nero were meant.

71. Were it not my purpose to refer the several incidents to their proper year, my spirit longs to anticipate, and instantly to relate the fate of Latiaris,¹ Opsius, and the other contrivers of this atrocity, not only after Caligula came to the empire, but even while Tiberius yet reigned,—who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to be crushed by others, yet, as he generally became surfeited with their infamy, and as fresh ones ever presented themselves for the same services, was himself wont to strike down the old and overgrown: but I shall at the proper time relate the punishments of these and other culprits. Now, Asinius Gallus, to whose children Agrippina was aunt,² moved, "that

¹ In what remains of Tacitus, we find the punishment of Latiaris only. See Annals, book vi. 4. The rest suffered under Caligula.

² Asinius Gallus married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the granddaughter of Atticus, after she was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus; and, being half-sister to the wife of Asinius Gallus, she was, of course, aunt to his children.

the prince should be desired to explain his fears to the senate, and allow them to be removed." Tiberius was fonder of his dissimulation than of all his other virtues; for such he conceived it: he was, therefore, the more pained to find his secret purposes laid bare; but Sejanus soothed him, not from any love to Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the prince's vengeance; for he knew him to be slow in maturing his resolutions, but that when he once broke out he would link sanguinary deeds to expressions of severity. About the same time died Julia, granddaughter to Augustus; by him condemned for adultery,¹ and banished to the island of Trimetus, not far from the coast of Apulia. She there suffered exile twenty years, sustained by relief from Augusta, who, having by secret devices overthrown her step-children in their prosperity, made an open show of compassion towards them in their adversity.

72. The same year the Frisians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebelled, rather from our rapacity than their unwillingness to submit. The tribute laid on them by Drusus² was easy, and suited to their contracted means, namely, "to furnish certain hides for military purposes." No one thought to insist on the particular size or thickness, till Olennius, the first centurion of a legion, being sent to govern them, picked out the hides of some wild bulls as a standard size to be accepted—a hard task even upon other nations, and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their forests abound in beasts of mighty bulk, and their domestic cattle are small. First they parted with their herds themselves, next with their lands, and last of all they surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Hence their indignation and complaints; but as these brought no relaxation, they sought relief by war. They seized the soldiers appointed over the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets: Olennius by flight prevented their vengeance, and found sanctuary in a neighbouring castle, its name Flevum, and garrisoned by a stout band of soldiers, Romans and auxiliaries, for the defence of the sea-coast.

73. Lucius Apronius, proprætor of Lower Germany, as soon as he was apprised of the insurrection, summoned from the upper province some of the legionary veterans, with a

¹ She was guilty of adultery with Silanus. See book iii. 24.

² Drusus, the father of Germanicus, and brother of Tiberius.

chosen band of auxiliary foot and horse ; and, sailing down the Rhine with both forces, made a descent on the Frisians ; the revolted having now abandoned the siege of the castle, and marched back to cover their own country. He therefore, by bridges and causeways laid over the neighbouring estuaries, rendered them passable for the heavier forces ; and the meanwhile, having discovered certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates,¹ and all the German foot in our pay, to move round to the rear of the enemy ; who, being already drawn up for battle, repulsed the allied troops, and even some legionary horse sent to support them. A fresh aid of three cohorts was then sent ; and then two more ; and, after some space, the whole squadron of cavalry : forces sufficiently strong, had they attacked them in a body ; but as they advanced by intervals, they did not inspire fresh courage in those who were disordered, but were themselves carried away in the panic of the retreating troops. To Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, he committed the rest of the auxiliaries ; but he too, being hard pressed, and his men in danger of giving way, despatched messages to implore the entire force of the legions : those of the fifth ran before the rest to his relief, and, in a sharp encounter, repulsing the foe, protected our cohorts and cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman general neither pursued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead, though many tribunes, many præfects, and many centurions of the first rank, were slain. It was afterwards learnt from deserters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themselves in the wood called Baduhenna, were every man cut off ; and that another band of four hundred, having possessed themselves of the villa of Cruptorix, who formerly served in the Roman army, apprehending that they must surrender to the enemy, had fallen by the hands of each other.

74. Hence the name of the Frisians became renowned amongst the Germans ; whilst Tiberius dissembled the loss, that he might trust no man with the conduct of the war. As

¹ There were three different establishments of cavalry in the Roman armies : namely, the troops of horse belonging to each legion ; the cavalry that formed a separate corps, as *Ala Petrina*, *Syllana*, *Scribonia* ; and the cavalry of the allies, as *Ala Batavorum*, *Treterorum*, &c.

for the senate, it was no part of their anxiety what disgraces were incurred in the extremities of the empire: domestic terror had possessed their souls—a malady for which they sought a cure from flattery; insomuch that, though they met to deliberate upon far different matters, they decreed “an altar to Clemency, an altar to Friendship, and round them the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus;” and, with repeated supplications, importuned both “that they would deign to show themselves to the citizens.” They, however, neither visited Rome nor the neighbourhood: to them it seemed sufficient to leave the island, and suffer themselves to be seen on the shore of Campania. Thither crowded the senators, the knights, and great part of the people, all solicitous for admission to Sejanus, who was harder of access than the emperor, and therefore it was sought by means of intrigue or participation in his counsels. It was abundantly apparent that his arrogance was augmented, when one looked upon that disgraceful crowd of slaves exposed to open view; for, at Rome, the continual hurrying to and fro is a familiar sight; and, from the greatness of the city, it was a matter of uncertainty what was the business they were going upon. But here they appeared lying along on the fields and shores, day and night, without distinction of rank, and bore with equal patience the favour and insolence of his porters; till at length even that was forbidden: and those whom he condescended not to see, others whom he deigned not to speak to, returned to the city in alarm; but some with ill-starred joy, for a dreadful issue of his disastrous friendship overhung them.

75. For the rest, Tiberius, having in person betrothed to Cneius Domitius the younger Agrippina, his granddaughter and daughter of Germanicus, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In Domitius he preferred, besides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the Cæsars; for he had the honour of having Octavia for his grandmother, and, through her, Augustus for his great-uncle.

BOOK V.

1. IN the consulship of Rubellius and Fusius, each surnamed Geminus, died Julia Augusta,¹ in extreme old age. She belonged to a family of the highest nobility, being a member of the Claudian house ; and adopted through her father into the Livian family ; into the Julian by Augustus. Her first marriage was with Tiberius Nero ; by whom she had children : her husband, at the time of the Perusian war, became a fugitive ; but, upon peace concluded between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate, returned to Rome. Afterwards, Octavius Cæsar, enamoured of her beauty, took her from her husband ; whether against her inclination, is uncertain ; but with such precipitation, that, without staying for her delivery, he brought her home while pregnant. She had no further issue ; but, united in blood to Augustus by the marriage of Germanicus² and Agrippina, her grandchildren stood in the same relation to him. In her domestic deportment she was formed after the model of primitive sanctity ; but with more affability than was allowed by ladies of old : as a mother, zealous and determined ; as a wife, kind and indulgent ; well adapted to the fastidious and complex character of her husband, and the fickle nature of her son : her funeral was plain, and her last will was long unfulfilled : her cucomium was pronounced in public by Caligula, her grandson, afterwards emperor.

2. Tiberius excused himself to the senate by letter, for not having in person paid the last offices to his mother, on the score of the pressure of business ; but suffered not the event to

¹ Augustus, by his last will, adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of Augusta. (Annals, book i. 8.) Tacitus, after that time, calls her Julia, Julia Augusta, and frequently Augusta only. Julia died, according to Pliny, lib. xiv. a. 6, at the age of eighty-two. Her father was of the Claudian family, and, being adopted into the house of Livius, took the name of Livius Drusus Claudianus. He fought on the side of liberty at the battle of Philippi ; and, seeing the day lost, died by his own hand.

² Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was grandson to Livia ; and Agrippina, his wife, was granddaughter to Augustus.

interfere at all with his enjoyments. He likewise abridged the ample honours decreed to her memory by the senate, and admitted only a very few of those proposed, under pretence of moderation, adding, "that no religious worship" should be appointed her ; for such was her own choice."¹ Nay, in a part of the same letter, he censured female friendships ; obliquely carping at the consul Fusius, who had stood high in the favour of Augusta, and was an adept in winning the affections of women ; he was also of a witty turn, and used to play upon Tiberius with cutting pleasanties ; the impressions of which are long retained by those in high places.

3. From this period however his government assumed a character of furious and crushing despotism : for while Augusta lived, some refuge still remained, as the respect of Tiberius for his mother had all the force of habit ; nor durst Sejanus attempt to supersede the authority of the parent : but now, as being free from restraint, they broke out with unbridled fury : letters were despatched against Agrippina and Nero ; which, as they were read in the senate soon after the death of Augusta, the people believed to have been sent long before and by her suppressed. They contained expressions of refined barbarity ; not imputing acts of armed hostility, or designs of treason ; but he charged his grandson with "the love of young men, and lewdness : " against Agrippina he durst not even feign so much ; but accused her "of haughty looks, and a turbulent spirit ;" to the great consternation of the senate, who remained speechless, till a few, who had no hope of rising by honourable means, (for verily public calamities are converted into occasions of personal favour,) demanded, that "the question of the letters should be laid before the senate." The foremost in zeal was Cotta Messalinus,² who expressed himself in terms of extreme

¹ Tiberius, from the day of his accession, considered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, and overbearing : in appearance, plotting to aggrandize her son ; in secret, wishing for nothing so much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the isle of Caprea, and during that time never had more than one short interview. In her last illness, Tiberius did not visit her. He signified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony, but he delayed so long that the body was in a state of putrefaction before it was committed to the flames. Suet. in Tib. a. 51.

² Cotta Messalinus was the son of Messala Corvinus, an orator,

severity ; but the other leading men, and chiefly the magistrates, were embarrassed, for Tiberius, though he had inveighed against them bitterly, left the ulterior proceedings in uncertainty.

4. In the senate was one Junius Rusticus, appointed by the emperor to keep a journal of their proceedings,¹ and therefore thought well acquainted with his purposes. This man, by some fated impulse (for he had never before shown any instance of magnanimity) or from shortsighted cunning, while, forgetful of impending dangers, he dreaded future possibilities, joined the party that hesitated, and warned the consuls, "not to introduce the question:" he argued "that from a few transient impulses the most important affairs might take a bias ; that one day the offspring of Germanicus might rise again, when the old man had had time to reconsider his conduct."² At the same time, the people, carrying the images of Agrippina and Nero, gathered round the senate, and with prayers for the prosperity of the emperor, cried earnestly, that the letters were counterfeit ; and that the prince was no party to the contrivance to ruin his family:" so that no dire resolution was come to on that day. There were also circulated several fictitious speeches under the names of men of consular rank, against Sejanus ; and framed with the greater petulance as most of them vented whatever their genius suggested in secret : whence he was the more enraged, and derived a pretext for complaining that the senate "had treated the affliction of the prince with contempt ; that the people had renounced their allegiance ; that revolutionary harangues were publicly heard and read ; seditious acts of senate were passed : what more remained, but to take up

highly commended by Quintilian. The son inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues. He is again mentioned by Tacitus as the promoter of oppression and cruelty. *Annals*, book vi. 5.

¹ Suetonius informs us that Julius Cæsar ordered acts of the senate, as well as of the people, to be duly committed to writing, and published, which had never been done before his time. (See in *Jul. Cæs.* a. 20.) Augustus, a more timid politician, ordered the proceedings of the senate to be kept secret. (*Suet. in Aug.* a. 36.) Tiberius followed the same rule, but, as it seems, had the caution to appoint a senator to execute the office.

² This passage is rather doubtful from the difficulty in determining the correct reading.

arms, and choose as their leaders and generals those whose images they would have followed as standards?"

5. Tiberius therefore having repeated his accusations against his grandson and daughter-in-law; having rebuked the people by an edict, and complained to the senate, "that by the artifice of a single senator the imperial dignity was baffled and insulted; required that the whole affair should be left to himself, entire and untouched." Without further deliberation, they did not indeed resolve to come to a final decision, for that they were forbidden to do, but they testified their readiness to inflict vengeance, had they not been prevented by the authority of the prince.¹ * * * *

6. * * * Upon this subject four-and-forty speeches were delivered; of which a few from fear, more from the habit * * * * "I judged that either it would bring infamy upon myself or odium upon Sejanus. The course of fortune is turned; and he who even chose him for his son-in-law and his colleague does not condemn himself. For the rest; as they brought disgrace on themselves by caressing him while he lived, so now they incur a deeper guilt by reviling him when dead * * * which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly decide; that of accusing a friend, or of being accused for showing him friendship * * * I will put no man's cruelty, no man's mercy to the proof; but, free as I am, and approved by my own conscience, I will anticipate danger. I adjure you that you do not retain the memory of me in sorrow rather than with joy, adding me too to the number of those who, by a noble end, have escaped from the spectacle of their country's miseries."

7. He then spent part of the day in conversation with the several persons that came to him; either retaining them or dismissing them, according as the purpose of each was to attend him, or merely to speak with him: and while there was yet a throng of company remaining, all admiring his

¹ The chapters here lost comprise a period of three years (viz. A.D. 29, 30, and the greater part of 31), in which occurred some of the most important events of the reign of Tiberius; such as, the imprisonment of Agrippina and her two sons, with the death of the eldest; the conspiracy and execution of Sejanus, the death of Livia his accomplice, and the proscription of the relatives and friends of the deceased favourite.

fearless countenance, and imagining that there was still time to spare before the last sad scene, he fell upon a sword, which he had concealed in a fold of his gown. Nor did Tiberius, after his death blacken him with reproaches or accusations : whereas he had loaded Blæsus with many and foul imputations.

8. The cases of Publius Vitellius¹ and Pomponius Secundus were next brought before the senate. The first was charged by informers, "that he, when presiding over the exchequer, had offered to open the treasury and give the military fund in aid of a revolution." To the other, Considius, lately prætor, objected "the friendship of Ælius Gallus, who, after the execution of Sejanus, had fled to the gardens of Pomponius, as to a most secure shelter:" nor had the accused any other resource against the danger that menaced them than the constancy of their brothers, who came forward as their sureties. Soon afterwards, the trial having been frequently postponed, Vitellius, wearied out with fear and hope alike, under pretence of writing, called for a penknife, with which he made a slight incision in his veins, and at last died brokenhearted. Pomponius, a man of great elegance of manners, and shining wit, bore his adverse fortune with equanimity, and outlived Tiberius.

9. Now though the rage of the populace was beginning to evaporate, and most men were mollified by former executions; it was determined to punish the remaining children of Sejanus. They were therefore both carried to prison; the boy sensible of his impending doom; but the girl so unconscious that she frequently asked, "for what offence? and whither did they drag her? she would do so no more; and they might take the rod and whip her." The writers of that time relate, "that as it was held unprecedented for a virgin

¹ P. Vitellius was the faithful companion of Germanicus, in Germany and Asia. He afterwards prosecuted Piso for the murder of his friend. (Annals, iii. 10, 13.) Suetonius relates, that he was seized among the accomplices of Sejanus; and, being delivered to the custody of his brother, he opened his veins, but, by the persuasion of his friends, suffered the wound to be bound up. He died soon after of a broken heart. (Suet. in Vitellio, s. 2.) He was uncle to Vitellius the emperor. (See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii.) Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank. Quintilian praises his dramatic genius. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 13.

to suffer capital punishment,¹ she was violated by the executioner just before he tied the rope ; and then being both strangled, their tender bodies were cast into the Gemoniæ.”¹

10. About the same time Greece and Asia were dismayed by a rumour more rife than lasting ; “that Drusus, the son of Germanicus,² had been seen in the Cyclades, and soon afterwards upon the continent.” And there was indeed a youth nearly of the same age, to whom some of the emperor’s freedmen, as if he were recognised by them, attached themselves, with the purpose of betraying him. The unwary were allured by the splendour of the name ; the Greeks being prone to catch at anything new and marvellous : so much so that they imagined, “that, escaped from custody and proceeding to the armies of his father, he would invade Syria or Egypt.” He was now attended by a crowd of young men, and thronged with eager partizans, elated with his present success and airy hopes, when the story reached Poppæus Sabinus. He was at that juncture engaged in Macedonia, and likewise had charge of Greece ; to obviate the mischief, whether the account were true or false, he hastily passed the bay of Torone and that of Therme ; and presently reached Eubœa, an island of the Ægean sea, and Piræus, on the coast of Attica ; he then passed along the coast of Corinth, and the straits of the Isthmus ; and, by another sea, entered Nicopolis, a Roman colony : there at length he learned, that being shrewdly questioned, he had declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus ; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to sail to Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius, and further than this we have found nothing of the origin or issue of that affair.

11. Towards the conclusion of the year, a dissension between the consuls, which had been long gathering strength, burst forth ; for Trio,³ who was careless about making himself enemies, and a practised pleader, had obliquely censured “Regulus, as slow in crushing the tools of Sejanus.” The

¹ “Triumvirali supplicio” in the original ; the punishment being so styled, because it was the duty of the triumvir to see execution done on such as were condemned to die.

² This young prince was now a prisoner in the dungeon of the Palatium.

³ Trio has been mentioned (Annals, ii. 28) as a practised informer, a man of dangerous talents, and an infamous character.

last, a moderate and inoffensive man, unless provoked, not only repulsed the charge of his colleague, but summoned him to trial, as an accomplice in the conspiracy. Though many senators besought them to lay down their animosities, as they tended to destruction, they continued in determined hostility, menacing each other. as long as they remained in office.

BOOK VI.

1. CNEIUS DOMITIUS¹ and Camillus Scribonianus had begun their consulship, when the emperor, having crossed the channel between Capræ and Surrentum, sailed along the shore of Campania; either unresolved whether he should enter the city, or else counterfeiting a show of coming, because he had determined otherwise. He often came down into the neighbourhood of the city, and even visited the gardens upon the Tiber, but went back again to the rocks and loneliness of the island, ashamed of his villanies and lusts; in which he rioted so inordinately, that, after the fashion of foreign tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution. Nor were beauty and gracefulness of person the only provocatives of his passion, but the modest deportment of some youths—the ancestral images of others. Then, likewise, were first devised the names, till then unknown, of “Sellarii” and “Spintriæ,” expressive of the abominable lewdness of the place, and the manifold methods of prostitution. Procurers were appointed to hunt out victims, and bring them to him. The willing they encouraged with presents, the backward they terrified with threats; and upon such parents or kindred as withheld them, they employed force, seizure, and just what they pleased, as upon so many captives.

2. At Rome, in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of Livia² had been but just discovered, and not long

¹ Domitius, commonly called Domitius Ahenobarbus, is the person whom we have seen married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, Annals, book iv. 75.

² The younger Livia, who conspired with Sejanus against the life of Drusus, her husband.

since punished too, rigorous decrees were passed against even her statues and memory ; with another, " that the effects of Sejanus should be taken from the public treasury, and placed in that of the emperor : " as if it made any difference. And yet such was the motion of the Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii, who urged it, each almost in the same words, or with slight alterations introduced, and with great apparent earnestness ; when, suddenly, Togonius Gallus, while he thrust his own meanness amongst illustrious names, became an object of derision ; for he besought the prince " to choose a body of senators, of whom twenty, drawn by lot and under arms, should wait upon him, and defend his person, as often as he entered the senate." He had given too much credit to a letter from the emperor, requiring " one of the consuls as a guard, that he might proceed in safety from Capreæ to Rome." Tiberius, however, whose custom it was to mingle irony with seriousness, thanked the senate for this instance of their regard ; but asked, " who were to be chosen ?—who to be omitted ?—whether always the same, or a continued succession ?—whether young senators, or such as had borne dignities ?—whether those who were magistrates, or otherwise ? And then what a sight it would be to behold them taking their swords in the porch of the senate-house ! In truth, he held not his life of such importance, as to have it thus protected by arms." So much in answer to Togonius, abstaining from any harshness of expression ; nor did he urge anything beyond cancelling the motion.

3. But Junius Gallio,¹ who had proposed " that the prætorian soldiers, having fulfilled their term of service, should thence acquire the privilege of sitting in the fourteen rows of the theatre allotted to the Roman knights," he rebuked vehemently, and, as if present, demanded " what business he had with the soldiers, whose duty bound them to observe only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards ? Had he forsooth discovered what had escaped the sagacity of the sainted Augustus ? Or was it not rather a method invented by a satellite of Sejanus, to raise sedition and discord ; an artifice by which, under pretence of conferring honour, he might stimulate the simple minds of the soldiers to break through the established regu-

¹ Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca. See *Annals*, xv. 73.

lations of the service?" This reward of his studied flattery had Gallio; who was forthwith expelled the senate, and afterwards Italy: nay, as it was alleged that he would experience no hardship from an exile at Lesbos, a celebrated and charming island, which he had selected, he was hauled back to Rome, and kept under guard in the house of a magistrate. Tiberius in the same letter denounced Sextus Paconianus, of prætorian rank, to the great joy of the senate, as he was daring and mischievous, prying into everybody's secrets, and chosen by Sejanus as an instrument for concerting the overthrow of Caligula. When this was now laid open, the hate long since conceived against him broke out, and had he not offered to make a discovery, he had been instantly condemned to capital punishment.

4. So when he impeached Latinus Latiaris, the accuser and the accused, both equally detested, exhibited a most gratifying spectacle. Latiaris, as I have recorded, had been the chief instrument in ensnaring Titius Sabinus, and was now the first to pay the penalty. During these transactions Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year: "How came they to be silent now, after threats of mutual accusation? fear, doubtless, and conscious guilt, operated as a compact of mutual forbearance. But the fathers must not suppress what they had heard." Regulus answered, "that he waited his time for revenge, and that he would prosecute his colleague before the prince." Trio said that "the emulation between colleagues, and what they had uttered in the heat of dissension, were better blotted out of remembrance." Agrippa still persisting, Sanquinius Maximus, of consular rank, besought the senate "not to increase the cares of the emperor by hunting up matter for fresh severities; that the emperor himself was equal to the task of remedying the evils of the times." Thus Regulus escaped destruction; and Trio obtained a postponement of his doom.¹ Haterius was the more detested, since, enervated with sleep or nocturnal debaucheries, and protected by his sloth against all peril from the prince, bloodthirsty though he was, he meditated, in the midst of revelry and lewdness, the ruin of illustrious citizens.

5. Next, Cotta Messalinus, the author of every the most sanguinary counsel, and therefore inveterately hated, was

. . . ¹ For the end of Fulcinius Trio, see this book, c. 38.

accused of a multitude of crimes, as soon as ever an opportunity was afforded: "that he had given Caligula the nickname of *Caia*, as contaminated by incest;"¹ that at a banquet among the priests on the birthday of *Augusta*, he had styled it a "funeral supper;"² and that, complaining of the influence of *Manius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, with whom he had a suit about money, he had added, "they indeed will be supported by the senate, but I by my dear little *Tiberius*." Convicted as to all these charges by men of the first rank in Rome, and they pressing their suit, he appealed to the emperor: soon after a letter came, which was a kind of defence of *Cotta*; in it he recounted "the beginning of their friendship," repeated "his many good services to himself," and desired "that words maliciously distorted, and the simplicity of convivial conversation, might not be wrested into crimes."

6. Most remarkable was the beginning of *Cæsar's* letter;³ for in these words he commenced: "What to write you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write, or what altogether not to write at this juncture, if I can determine, may all the gods and goddesses doom me to worse destruction than that by which I feel myself consuming daily." With such just retribution did his crimes and atrocities recoil upon himself. Nor was it unadvisedly that the wisest of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of tyrants were bared to view, wounds and lacerations would be seen in them; for as the body is torn by stripes, so is the heart by cruelty, lusts, and evil purposes.⁴ For assuredly not his imperial fortune, not his inaccessible solitude, could prevent *Tiberius* from acknowledging the anguish of his breast, and the penalties he had brought upon himself.

7. It was then left to the discretion of the senate to decide on the case of *Cæcilianus* the senator, "who had brought

¹ The female name of *Caia*, given to *Caius Cæsar*, or *Caligula*, carries with it the imputation of extreme effeminacy and vice.

² This we must suppose to have occurred after *Augusta's* death. The conduct of *Caligula* would therefore imply that the empress-mother had not been deified (see above, book v. 32), and that it was therefore ridiculous to celebrate her birthday.

³ *Suetonius* has the same letter in the very words here reported. In *Tib. a. 67*.

⁴ *Tacitus* here appears to refer to two passages in *Plato*, viz. *Gorgias*, 524 E, and *The Republic*, ix. 579 D.

forward many charges against Cotta ;” and it was resolved, “to subject him to the same penalties as were inflicted upon Aruseius and Sanquinus, the accusers of Lucius Arruntius.” An event more gratifying to his pride never befel Cotta ; who, of noble descent indeed, but beggared by extravagance, and infamous for his enormities, was, in the estimate of the redress due to him, placed upon a level with the immaculate character of Arruntius. Afterwards were arraigned Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus : Servæus, formerly prætor, and once the follower of Germanicus ; Minutius, of the equestrian rank, and though distinguished yet never elated by the friendship of Sejanus : and hence the greater commiseration for both. Tiberius, on the contrary, charged them “as the principals in treason,” and directed Caius Cestius the elder, “to declare to the senate what he had written to himself.” Thus Cestius undertook the accusation. This was the most pestilent calamity of those times, that the first men of the senate performed the office of the meanest informers : some openly, many in secrecy ; nor could you observe any distinction between kinsmen and aliens, friends and strangers,—whether the acts imputed were recent, or fetched from the obscurity of past times : equally for words spoken in the forum,—at entertainments,—upon whatsoever subject,—the speakers were accused,¹ according as every one hastened to get the start and point out the culprit : some did it for their own protection, but the generality infected, as it were, with the malady and contagion of the times. Minutius and Servæus were condemned ; but, to save themselves, became evidence : and thus were drawn into the same predicament Julius Africanus, from the Santones, a city of Gaul ; and Seius Quadratus, whose origin I have not discovered. Neither am I unaware that by most writers the trials and sufferings of many are wholly omitted ; either sinking under their

¹ As an instance of the practices of the informers, we may cite the following anecdote related by Seneca. One of the guests, at a dinner, wore the image of Tiberius on his ring. His slave, seeing his master intoxicated, took the ring off his finger. The informer, some time after, insisted that the owner, to mark his contempt of Tiberius, was sitting upon the figure of the emperor. For this offence he drew up an accusation, and was getting it attested by subscribing witnesses, when the slave showed to the whole company that he had the ring in his hand all the time.

multiplicity, or apprehensive that the recital, which to themselves proved surfeiting and melancholy, would be equally irksome to their readers. But to me many events have presented themselves, deserving to be known, however unrecorded by others.

8. For, at a juncture when all men else affected to renounce the friendship of Sejanus, a Roman knight, named Marcus Terentius, then upon his trial on this very account, dared to avow it before the senate in a speech on this wise : “ In my present circumstances, to deny the charge were perhaps more expedient than to acknowledge it ; but, whatever be the result, I will own that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I even sought to be his friend, and rejoiced when I had gained his friendship. I had seen him colleague with his father Strabo in the command of the prætorian cohorts, and soon afterwards discharging the functions of the civil and military department at the same time. His kinsmen and friends were covered with public honours ; and prevalent with the prince was every man's credit in proportion to his intimacy with Sejanus. Those, on the contrary, under his displeasure, were exposed to terror and to base criminations. Instances I adduce not ; but I will vindicate, at my own peril, all those who, like myself, were guiltless of his last designs. Sejanus the Vulsinian was not the man whom we courted ; but Sejanus a member of the Claudian, of the Julian house, into which by alliance he was ingrafted : your son-in-law, Cæsar,—your colleague in the consulship, and who administered your functions in the empire. To us it belongs not to judge whom above all others you exalt, nor for what reasons. Upon you the gods have devolved the supreme disposal of affairs, and to us is left the glory of obedience. Facts which are obvious we all behold : we perceive who it is upon whom you accumulate power and honours ; who they are that have supreme influence in dispensing rewards and punishments : and that these were possessed by Sejanus, no man can deny : but to pry into the hidden thoughts of the prince, and the measures he meditates in secret, is forbidden and hazardous ; nor would the attempt succeed. Do not, conscript fathers, confine your thoughts to the last day of Sejanus, but take in the whole sixteen years of his power ; when we adored even such men as Satrius and Pomponius,

and to be acquainted with his porters and freedmen was esteemed a high honour. What then! shall this defence be allowed indiscriminately and without exception? Far from it: let just limits bound it. Let conspiracy against the state, let murderous designs against the emperor, be punished; but as to the offices of friendship, and tokens of respect towards Sejanus, the same limitation is necessary to absolve you, Cæsar, and us."

9. The magnanimity of the speech, added to the joy that one was at last found who gave utterance to sentiments which all entertained in their hearts, produced such an effect, that his accusers were for this and former delinquencies sentenced to banishment or death. Next followed letters from Tiberius against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank; whom, as a dear friend of his brother Drusus, he had adopted into his own retinue. The cause of offence was, his either having composed an invective against the impurities of Caligula, or the credit given to a false statement that he had done so; and for this reason, being forbidden the prince's table, with an aged hand he tried the steel, and feebly pierced his veins, but bound them up again, and by a memorial sought pardon of Tiberius; but, receiving a relentless answer, opened them again. Next were charged with treason, in one batch, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, with Mamercus Scaurus, Calvisius Sabinus, and Vinicianus added to his father Pollio; all noble in descent—some distinguished with the first dignities. The fathers trembled (for how few senators were unconnected by friendship or alliance with so many illustrious men!) but one of the evidence, named Celsus, tribune of a city-cohort, exculpated Appius and Calvisius: the trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was by the emperor postponed, that he himself might take cognizance of their cases with the senate. Towards Scaurus, however, he exhibited some ominous tokens of displeasure.

10. Nor were even women exempt from danger. With designs to usurp the government they could not be charged; their tears are therefore made treason; and Vitia, mother to Fusius Geminus, once consul, was executed in her old age for bemoaning the death of her son. These were the proceedings in the senate: nor were they different before the emperor. Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus were doomed to

death—two of his oldest friends, who had followed him to Rhodes, and never forsook him at Capreae. Vescularius was his go-between in the plot against Libo : by the cooperation of Marinus, Sejanus had effected the ruin of Curtius Atticus. Hence it was hailed with the greater joy, that their own examples had recoiled upon the authors of them. About the same time died Lucius Piso, the pontiff ; and, by a felicity rare in one so distinguished, in the course of nature : never the spontaneous author of any servile motion, and ever wise in moderating them when necessity enforced his assent. That his father had sustained the office of censor, I have before recorded : he himself lived to fourscore years, and for his services in Thrace had obtained the honour of a triumph. But his chief renown arose from his admirable moderation in the office of præfect of the city, lately made perpetual, and the more odious, as the people were unused to its authority.

11. For of old, in the absence of the kings, and afterwards of the magistrates, that the city might not be without a ruler, a temporary officer was appointed to administer justice, and apply a remedy in cases of emergence : and it is said, that by Romulus, Denter Romulius was deputed ; Numa Marcius¹ by Tullus Hostilius ; and by Tarquin the Proud, Spurius Lucretius.² Subsequently, the delegation was made by the consuls ; and there remains still a shadow of the old institution, when, by reason of the Latin Festival, one is authorized to discharge the consular function. Moreover, Augustus, during the civil wars, committed to Cilnius Mæcenas, of the equestrian order, the government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when sole master of the empire, moved by the multitude of people, and the slowness of relief from the laws, he chose one of consular rank to control the slaves, and such citizens as from their daring spirit are apt to run riot if they have not the fear of chastisement before their eyes. Messala Corvinus was the first invested with this authority, and in a few days dismissed, as a man incompetent

¹ He was the father of Ancus Marcius, according to the legends, and son-in-law to Numa Pompilius.

² He is mentioned by Livy in the character of præfect of the city : "Imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, reliquit."—Lib. i. 59.

to discharge it. It was then filled by Taurus Statilius, who, though very aged, sustained it with signal honour. After him, Piso held it for twenty years, with equal credit; so that he was distinguished with a public funeral, by a decree of the senate.

12. A motion was then made in the senate by Quintilianus, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the Sibyl, which Caninius Gallus, one of the college of fifteen, had prayed "might be received amongst the rest of that prophethess, and a decree made to that effect." The decree passed without opposition, but was followed by letters from Tiberius, gently chiding the tribune, "as young, and therefore unskilled in the ancient usages." He upbraided Gallus, "that when it was not known who was the author, he, who was so experienced in the science of sacred ceremonies, should, without taking the opinion of the college, without the usual reading, and deliberation on the character of the composition, by its presidents, have transacted this business in a thin house." He also advised them, "that Augustus,¹ on account of the multitude of fictions circulated under that celebrated name, had ordained a day before which they should be carried to the city-prætor, and after which it was unlawful for any private person to hold them." The same had likewise been decreed by our ancestors, when, after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War,² the verses of the Sibyl (whether there were but one, or more) were everywhere sought,—in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily, and all the Roman colonies,—with injunctions to the priests that, as far as human wit could enable them; they would separate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occasion also, the book was subjected to the cognizance of the quindecimvirate.

13. Under the same consuls matters proceeded to the verge of rebellion from the dearth of provisions. The populace for many days urged their wants and demands in the theatre, with an unusual licentiousness of language towards the emperor. Roused by this he censured the magistrates and

¹ See Suetonius in Aug. s. 31.

² The words "*Sociali bello*" appear to have been erroneously introduced, as the Capitol was burnt in the civil war of Marius and Sylla, about five years after the end of the Social War.

senate, "that they had not by the civil power restrained the people." And further stated "the supplies of grain which he had caused to be imported, from what provinces, and in how much greater abundance than those procured by Augustus." So that for correcting the populace a decree passed framed on the model of ancient severity; nor less vigorous was the edict published by the consuls. His own silence was not, as he had hoped, ascribed to his regard for civil equality, but was imputed to scorn.

14. In the end of the year Geminius, Pompeius, and Celsus, Roman knights, fell by a charge of conspiracy. Of these, Geminius, by lavish expenditure and voluptuous living, had gained the friendship of Sejanus, but not for any serious matters. Julius Celsus, a tribune, while in bonds, loosened his chain, and passing it over his head, by bearing in the opposite direction broke his neck. But over Rubrius Fabatus a guard was set, on the plea that, despairing of the Roman state, he meant to throw himself on the compassion of the Parthians. He was, certainly, apprehended in the Straits of Sicily, and when haled back to Rome by a centurion he assigned no satisfactory motives for so long an excursion. He remained, however, unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

15. In the consulship of Servius Galba and Lucius Sylla, Tiberius, having long deliberated upon whom to bestow his granddaughters, as now they were marriageable, chose for their husbands, Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was originally from Cales, a municipal town, and of an equestrian family; but his father and grandfather had been consuls; himself of a gentle temper and polished eloquence. Cassius was a Roman of plebeian family, but ancient and honourable; was brought up under the strict tuition of his father, and more admired for the easiness than vigour of his spirit. To him the emperor married Drusilla, and to Vinicius, Julia; both daughters of Germanicus; and upon this subject wrote to the senate with a slight commendation of the young men. Then assigning some extremely vague reasons for his absence, he proceeded to considerations more weighty, and the animosities towards him arising out of his zeal for the republic; and desired "that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with some few tribunes and centurions, might always

accompany him into the senate." To this purpose an ordinance passed, comprehensive, and without limitation as to number or condition; yet so far was Tiberius from coming near the council of the nation, that he never entered the walls of Rome; generally travelling on indirect roads round his country, and shunning it.

16. In the meanwhile, the whole band of accusers broke loose upon those who augmented their wealth by usury, in contravention of a law of Caesar the dictator, in which provision is made "respecting the terms of lending money, and holding property in Italy; a law formerly neglected, because the public good is rated beneath private gain. Usury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the cause of ever-recurring discord and seditions, and therefore restrained, even in ancient times, when the public manners were less corrupt. For, first it was ordained by the XII. Tables, "that no man should take higher interest than one per cent. per annum;"¹ when before it was exacted at the pleasure of the rich. Afterwards, by a regulation of the tribunes, it was reduced to one half, and at last usury was forbidden. By the people, too, repeated statutes were made for obviating frauds, which though so frequently repressed, yet by strange devices sprang up afresh. But at this time Gracchus the prætor, to whom this question was submitted, appalled by the multitude of those involved, had recourse to the senate. The fathers also were dismayed (for of this fault not one was guiltless), and sought indulgence from the prince; and a year and six months were granted to every one to adjust his domestic finances according to the directions of the law.

17. Hence a great scarcity of current money, as all debts were at once called in; and so many being condemned, and their effects sold, the current coin stagnated in the public treasury, or in that of the emperor. Moreover, the senate had provided "that two-thirds of his capital should by every one be invested in lands in Italy." But the creditors called in the whole; nor was it reputable for the debtors to break faith. So that at first meetings and entreaties were tried;

¹ As the Romans reckoned interest by the month, *unciarium fanus* will be one-twelfth per cent. for the month,—*semuncie*, one-twenty-fourth for the same period; whence it follows that these rates are equal respectively to our 1 per cent. and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

then the tribunal of the prætor was beset with clamorous applicants. And the project resorted to as a remedy, namely, that the debtor should sell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation, for the usurers hoarded up all their money for purchasing lands; and the plenty of estates to be sold lowering the price, the more men were indebted the more difficult they found it to sell. Many from a state of affluence were plunged into utter ruin; and the destruction of private property hurled down with it both rank and character. At length the emperor brought relief, by placing a sum of a hundred thousand great sesterces at the different bankers, with liberty to borrow for three years without interest, provided the debtor gave security to the people to double the value in lands. Thus credit was restored, and by degrees private lenders too were found; neither was the order of the senate enjoining the purchase of lands observed; like most other projects of the kind, having been eagerly embraced at first, it was in the end treated with neglect.

18. After this Rome was revisited with her former terrors, Considius Proculus being put on his trial for treason. While he was celebrating his birthday, devoid of all apprehension, he was hurried to the senate, and was at once condemned and executed. Sancia too, his sister, was interdicted fire and water at the accusation of Quintus Pomponius, a man of turbulent temper, who pretended "that he followed these and similar practices to ingratiate himself with Tiberius, and thus to obviate the fate which threatened his brother Pomponius Secundus." Pompeia Macrina was also sentenced to exile, her husband Argolicus, and her father-in-law Laco, two of the prime nobility of Greece, had already fallen victims to the displeasure of Tiberius. Her father, too, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, of prætorian rank, when they saw the condemnation that awaited them, slew themselves. The crime imputed to them was, "that their grandfather, Theophanes of Mytilene, had been one of the confidants of Pompey the Great; and that to Theophanes, when dead, Grecian flattery had paid divine honours."

19. These were followed by Sextus Marius, the most wealthy man of Spain. He was accused of incest with his daughter, and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and lest it should be doubted that the extent of his riches proved

his ruin, his mines of gold, though forfeited to the state, were by Tiberius appropriated to himself; and, exasperated by these executions, he then ordered all who were in prison under accusation of attachment to Sejanus to be put to death. There lay the countless mass of slain—of every sex and age—the illustrious and the mean; some dispersed, others collected in heaps; nor was it permitted to their friends or kindred to be present, or to shed a tear over them, or any longer even to go and see them; but guards were placed around, who marked signs of sorrow in each; and attended the putrid bodies till they were dragged to the Tiber; where, floating in the stream, or driven upon the banks, none dared to burn them, none to touch them. Even the ordinary intercourse of humanity was intercepted by the violence of fear; and in proportion as cruelty prevailed commiseration was stifled.

20. About the same time, Claudia, daughter to Marcus Silanus, was given in marriage to Caligula, who had accompanied his grandfather to Capræ. Concealing a ferocious spirit under an artful guise of modesty, even upon the condemnation of his mother, and the exile of his brothers, not a word escaped him. Closely aping Tiberius, he put on the same dress as he did from day to day, and in his language differed little from him. Whence the shrewd observation of Passienus the orator, afterwards so famous, “that never was a better slave nor a worse master.” Neither would I omit the presage of Tiberius concerning Servius Galba, then consul. Having sent for him and sifted him on several subjects, he at last told him in Greek, “And thou, Galba, shalt hereafter taste of empire;” intimating his late and brief reign; by virtue of his skill in the astrology of the Chaldæans, which he acquired in his retirement at Rhodes under the tuition of Thrasullus, whose skill he proved in the following way:—

21. As often as he sought information on any subject of this sort, he retired to the roof of the house, trusting with his secret one freedman only, a man of great personal strength, but illiterate, who conducted the astrologer, whose art Tiberius had resolved to test, by an unfrequented and precipitous path,—for the house was seated on the brow of a rocky eminence,—and, as he returned, if any suspicion of vain pretension or fraud arose, plunged him headlong into the sea beneath, that he might not live to betray the secret.

Thrasullus being therefore led over the same rocks, and having astonished the emperor by the replies to his interrogatories,—for he revealed to him, by the power of his art, his succession to the empire, and a series of future events,—Tiberius asked him, “whether he had calculated his own nativity, and what was to befall him that same year, nay, that very day?” Thrasullus, surveying the aspects and positions of the stars, at first hesitated, then quaked, and however much he examined them, the more and more dismayed with astonishment and dread, he at last cried out, “that over him hung a danger imminent and all but fatal.” Forthwith Tiberius embraced him, congratulated him “upon his foresight of perils, and assured him that he should suffer no harm;” and, esteeming his predictions as oracular, continued him among his most intimate friends.

22. For myself, while I listen to these and similar relations, my judgment wavers, whether human affairs are regulated by fate and immutable necessity, or left to roll on at random. For upon this subject you will find the wisest of the ancients and the followers of their sects are of opposite sentiments; and that many are of opinion, “that the gods take no interest in the beginning or the end of our course, or, in short, in humanity in any aspect: and thence so eternally calamities afflict the upright, while prosperity attends the wicked.” Others hold the contrary position, and believe “that events proceed in accordance with fate; but not a fate resulting from planetary influences, but referrible to the principles and concatenation of natural causes. Yet they leave us liberty of election in our course of life; but after the choice is made, they say the chain of consequences is inevitable: neither is that good or evil which passes for such in the estimation of the vulgar. Many who seem to struggle with adversity are yet happy; numbers that wallow in wealth are yet most wretched: as when the former bear with magnanimity the pressure of adverse fortune, and the latter make an unwise use of her bounties.” However, very many men remain still convinced that “the future fortunes of each are determined at the moment of their birth: or, if some events thwart the prediction, that it is owing to the errors of such as pronounce without understanding the subject; and thus the credit of an art is impaired, which, both in ages past and in

our own, has afforded signal instances of its certainty." In fact, the prediction of the son of this same Thrasullus, that Nero would be emperor, will be recorded at the proper time; but not here, lest I should digress too much from the matter in hand.

23. During the same consulship, the death of Asinius Gallus¹ became generally known: that he perished through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord or by constraint, was held uncertain. The emperor was consulted, "whether he would suffer him to be buried?" when he blushed not to grant it as a favour; and even went so far as to express dissatisfaction that a casualty should have carried off the accused before he was convicted publicly: as if during three intermediate years between his accusation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of the aged man, of consular rank himself, and the father of so many more. Next the light of Drusus² was quenched, after having protracted his existence to the ninth day, by means of the wretched nutriment afforded by the stuffing of his bed. Some have related, that, in case Sejanus had attempted force, Macro had instructions to take the young man from his confinement (for he was kept in the palace), and set him at the head of the people: afterwards, because a report was circulated "that the emperor was about to be reconciled to his daughter-in-law and grandson," he chose rather to be accounted cruel than to have changed his purpose.

24. Nay, even after death he pursued him with invectives, and charged him with "having dishonoured his body,—with a spirit breathing destruction to his own family, and hostility to the republic;" and ordered to be recited "the minutes of such of his words and actions as had been daily registered." This was thought a proceeding of unparalleled atrocity, that for so many years spies should have attended him, to note down his looks, his groans, his secret murmurs; and that his grandfather could hear the tale, read it, and expose it to the public, was scarcely credible, but for the letters of Actius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman; which exhibited the names of the slaves accordingly as one struck.

¹ Asinius Gallus had been thrown into prison three years before.

² Drusus, the son of Germanicus, who had been imprisoned in the lower part of the palace about three years before; see Suet. in Tib. 2, 54.

him as he was coming out of his chamber, and another terrified him with menaces. The centurion too repeated, as matter of special merit, his own language to Drusus,—language full of barbarity,—with the words uttered by him while sinking under famine; in which at first, feigning madness, he pronounced, as if in a phrenzy, deadly denunciations against Tiberius, and afterwards, when all hopes of life had fled, he poured forth studied and deliberate imprecations, “that, as he had slaughtered his son’s wife, the son of his brother, and his son’s sons, and filled his whole house with carnage, so might he pay to the uttermost the penalty of his crimes, in justice to his name, the generations of his forefathers, and posterity.” The senators indeed interrupted him with exclamations of assumed horror at these imprecations; but their hearts were penetrated with consternation and amazement, that he who was heretofore so wary, and threw so dense a covering over his iniquities, had arrived at such a pitch of hardihood as thus to remove, as it were, his prison walls, and exhibit his own grandson under the lash of a centurion, exposed to the violence of slaves, and imploring in vain the homeliest aliment of life.

25. Before the impressions of this grief were worn away, the death of Agrippina was announced.¹ I suppose she had spun out her life upon the hopes she had conceived from the execution of Sejanus; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, voluntarily put an end to her life,—unless it was that, by bereaving her of nourishment, a mode of death was artfully resorted to which might seem self-sought. For Tiberius indeed broke out with abominable imputations against her, charging her “with lewdness; adultery with Asinius Gallus; and that upon his death she became weary of life.” But Agrippina, impatient of an equal lot, and eager to rule, had sacrificed to masculine ambition the vices of her sex. The emperor added, “that she departed the same day two years on which Sejanus had suffered as a traitor, and that the same ought to be recorded.” Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in “that she had not been strangled, and her body cast into the Gemoniæ.” For this the senate thanked him, and decreed “that, on the seventeenth of October, the day of both their deaths, a yearly offering should be consecrated to Jupiter for ever.”

¹ For the account of Agrippina’s miserable end, see Suet. in Tib. a. 53.

26. Not long after, Cocceius Nerva,¹ the constant companion of the prince, skilled in all laws, human and divine, in unimpaired prosperity and perfect vigour of body, formed a resolution of dying. Tiberius having heard of it, sat down beside him, requested to know his motives, adding entreaties, and even confessed "that it would disturb his peace of mind, and be a stain on his reputation, if the nearest of his friends should relinquish life, without any cause for dying." Nerva shunned conversing on the subject, and immediately began to abstain from food. It was alleged, by such as knew his thoughts, that the more he saw into the miseries of the state, the more transported with indignation and fear, he resolved to die with honour while unscathed and unassailed. Moreover, the fall of Agrippina, which is hardly credible, drew with it that of Plancina. She was formerly married to Cneius Piso; and though she exulted publicly in the death of Germanicus, yet when Piso fell, she was protected by the solicitations of Augusta, nor less by the animosity of Agrippina. When favour and hate had ceased to act, justice prevailed; and, being prosecuted for notorious crimes, with her own hand she inflicted upon herself a punishment more tardy than unmerited.

27. While the city was saddened by so many subjects of mourning, one occasion of grief was that Julia,² the daughter of Drusus, and lately the wife of Nero, was espoused to Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was remembered by many to have been only a Roman knight from Tibur. At the close of the year, the death of Ælius Lamia³ was celebrated with a public funeral. He was præfect of the city, having been at length discharged from the mock administration of Syria. He was a man of distinguished family, enjoyed a vigorous old age, and derived additional popularity from his province being withheld from him. Pomponius Flaccus,⁴

¹ Cocceius Nerva has been mentioned, book iv. 58.

² Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia, and granddaughter to Tiberius.

³ He is better known from the odes addressed to him by Horace, *Carm. l. xxvi., lll. xvii.*

⁴ Pomponius Flaccus was one of Tiberius's boon companions. Suetonius says, that after he came to the empire, he passed a whole night and two days in a carousing party with Lucius Piso and Pomponius Flaccus. *Suet. in Tib. a. 42.*

proprætor of Syria, died some time after; when a letter from Tiberius was recited, in which he complained "that all the senators of distinction, and qualified to command armies, refused that office; in this difficulty he was driven to entreaties, in order to induce some of those of consular rank to undertake the provinces;" forgetting Arruntius, now for ten years prevented from going into Spain. The same year also died Manius Lepidus,¹ of whose wisdom and moderation I have in former books, as was fitting, said enough. Nor is it requisite to dwell long on the display of his nobility, since the Æmilian race is fertile in good citizens; and even those of the same family who lapsed into corruption, continued still to be distinguished by the splendours of fortune.

28. In the consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius,² after a long series of ages, the bird called the phoenix³ arrived in Egypt, and furnished the most learned of the natives and Greeks with occasion for much speculation concerning that marvel. The circumstances in which they agree with many others of a doubtful character, though not undeserving of record, I purpose reciting. That it is a creature sacred to the sun, and in the form of its head and the various tints of its plumage distinguished from other birds, all who have described its characteristics are agreed: as to the number of years it lives, accounts vary. The most generally received fixes it at five hundred years: but there are those who affirm that one thousand four hundred and sixty one years intervene between its visits; and assert that the three former phoenixes appeared, the first in the reign of Sesostris, the next of Amasis; and that one was seen in the reign of Ptolemy, the third king of Egypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the city of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vast retinue of other birds gazing with admiration on the beauteous miracle. But the accounts of antiquity are enveloped in doubt and obscurity: between Ptolemy and Tiberius the interval was less than two hundred and fifty years: whence some have believed that the present was a spurious phoenix,

¹ See note above, p. 168.

² Lucius Vitellius, the new consul, was the father of Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. See more of him, c. 32.

³ This occurrence is related as happening two years later, by Pliny (Hist. Nat. x. 2. 5) and Dio (lvi. 27).

and did not proceed from the regions of Arabia, nor observed any of the instincts which ancient tradition constantly attributes to the genuine : for the latter having completed his course of years, on the approach of death built a nest in his native land, and upon it sheds a generative power, from whence arises a young one, whose first care, when he is grown up, is to bury his father : neither does he go about this task unadvisedly, but taking up a heavy piece of myrrh, tries his strength in a long excursion ; and as soon as he finds himself equal to the burthen and the passage, he takes his father's body upon his back, carries it all the way to the altar of the sun, and consumes it in the fire thereon. These accounts are not entitled to unqualified credit, and their uncertainty is increased by the admixture of matter palpably fabulous ; but that this bird has been at some time seen in Egypt, is not questioned.

29. At Rome, the destruction of her citizens continued without intermission. Pomponius Labeo, who, as I have mentioned, was governor of Mœsia, opening his veins poured out his lifeblood ; his wife Paxæa, in emulation of his example, did the same. The dread of falling by the executioner, made deaths of this sort a welcome resource ; in addition to which, those who were condemned forfeited their estates, and were debarred the rights of burial : of such as made away with themselves, the bodies were interred, and the wills were valid, the reward of their despatch ! Tiberius, however, in a letter to the senate, argued, "that it was the usage of their ancestors,¹ when they would renounce the friendship of any one, to forbid him their house ; and thus put an end to all gracious intercourse ; a usage he had repeated in the case of Labeo : but he who was pressed with a charge of maladministration, and other crimes, had sought to veil his guilt by an act reflecting odium upon others ; while his wife had alarmed herself unnecessarily, for though guilty, she was nevertheless in no danger." Mamercus Scaurus¹ was then

¹ We have seen Mamercus Scaurus marked as a victim, this book, c. 9. Seneca (Controv. lib. v. in Præfatione) speaks of him also as possessed of oratorical talent. Dio informs us, that the tragedy for which he was accused was founded on the story of Atreus ; and that Tiberius, thinking himself glanced at, said, "Since he makes me another Atreus, I will make him an Ajax," meaning that he would force him to destroy himself. Dio, lib. lviii.

arraigned afresh, a man of highly distinguished family, and an eminent pleader, but of profligate habits. In his overthrow the friendship of Sejanus had no share, but an engine no less potent to destroy, the enmity of Macro, who pursued, but more secretly, the same arts. The subject of a tragedy composed by Scaurus, in which were some lines which might be made to apply to Tiberius, formed the groundwork of his information. But by the accusers, Servilius and Cornelius, the crimes objected were those of "adultery with Livia," and the mysteries of the magicians." Scaurus, as became the magnanimity of the ancient Æmiliï, prevented condemnation, by the persuasion of Sextia his wife, who encouraged him to die and shared his fate.

30. And yet the informers, when opportunity occurred, were surrendered to vengeance; as were Servilius and Cornelius, who had acquired an[infamous]notoriety by the ruin of Scaurus, for accepting from Varius Ligur a bribe to drop a prosecution, for which they were interdicted fire and water, and banished to the islands. Abudius Rufo too, once ædile, whilst he brought a charge against Lentulus Gætulicus, under whom he had led a legion, "that he had marked out a son of Sejanus for 'his son-in-law,'" was himself on the contrary condemned and banished Rome. Gætulicus was at this time commander of the legions in Upper Germany, and wonderfully beloved by them for his unbounded clemency and well-tempered discipline. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, through the interest of Lucius Apronius, his father-in-law. Hence he was firmly believed to have dared to represent to the emperor in a letter, "that by no choice of his own had he set about any affinity with Sejanus, but in compliance with the counsel of Tiberius, and was as liable as Tiberius to be deceived; nor ought one and the same error to pass unblamed in the prince only, and draw down destruction upon all others. He had never violated his allegiance; and if no plots were framed against him, it would continue unshaken. A successor he should receive as no other than the herald of death. It remained therefore that they should as it were establish a league, by which the prince should still enjoy all the rest of the empire, and he himself retain his province." This proceeding, however amazing,

¹ The wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius.

derived credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to Sejanus, remained in safety, and even in high favour, Tiberius considering the public odium under which he laboured, his great age, and that his authority was upheld more by reputation than force.

31. In the consulship of Caius Sestius and Marcus Servilius, there came to Rome some noble Parthians, unknown to Artabanus their king. He had formerly, through dread of Germanicus, reigned with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his subjects with cruelty. His confidence grew out of the successful wars which he had waged against the circumjacent nations; from his contempt of Tiberius,¹ as enfeebled through age and unwarlike, and from an avidity to possess Armenia; over which kingdom, upon the death of Artaxias,² he set Arsaces, his eldest son. To this usurpation was superadded an insult, having sent to reclaim "the treasure left by Vonones³ in Syria and Cilicia;" as also "the re-establishment of the ancient boundaries between the Persians and Macedonians:" he even threw out in a menacing and vain-glorious style, "that he would invade all the countries possessed by Cyrus, and since by Alexander." Of this secret embassy from the Parthians the most energetic promoter was Sinnaces, of a noble family and corresponding wealth; and, next to him, Abdus the eunuch, a description of person not despised amongst the Barbarians, but, on the contrary, possessing influence. These two, in concert with others of the nobles, sent to Rome for Phraates,⁴ son of king Phraates, since of all the race of the Arsacidæ, many having been murdered by Artabanus, and the rest too young, there were none whom they could set upon the throne. The

¹ Suetonius says, Tiberius was severely lashed in a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, upbraiding him with parricide, murder, cowardice, and luxury; and advising him to expiate his guilt by a voluntary death. In Tib. s. 66.

² Artaxias III., who was seated on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus. See book ii. 56 and 64.

³ Vonones was deposed by the Armenians, and obliged to take refuge at Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia. Annals, book ii. 4 and 58.

⁴ He was the son of Phraates IV., and had been sent by his father as an hostage to Augustus. See above, book ii. 1.

deputies represented, "that there needed nothing more than a name and a sanction ;—nothing more than that a descendant of Arsaces, with the concurrence of Cæsar, should show himself on the banks of the Euphrates."

32. This was what Tiberius wished. He furnished Phraates with every requisite, and equipped him for the recovery of his father's throne ; still holding to his determination to transact his foreign affairs by policy and counsels only, and avoid engaging in war. Artabanus meanwhile informed of the combination, was at one time paralysed by apprehensions, at another fired with the desire of revenge. And yet, by Barbarians delay is reckoned a mark of a servile mind ; but instant execution is considered the attribute of royalty. Expediency however so far prevailed, that he invited Abdus to a banquet, under pretence of friendship, and tied him up by a dose of slow poison : Sinnaces he managed to hold back by dissimulation, presents, and engaging him in business at the same time. Now Phraates arriving in Syria, and laying aside the Roman dress and manners, to which for so many years he had been accustomed, to assume the customs of the Parthians, proved unequal to the hardship of adopting the habits of his country, fell sick and died. Tiberius did not abandon the enterprise : but set up Tiridates, of the same blood, as a competitor with Artabanus ; and for the recovery of Armenia, chose Mithridates the Iberian, and reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes, who inherited the sovereignty of Iberia ; and over the east, for executing all his projects there, he placed Lucius Vitellius.¹ I am aware that in Rome this man was in bad odour, and that many foul acts are related of him : yet in governing provinces he acted with primitive uprightness. It was after his return thence, that his dread of Caligula, and then his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into a slave so abject, that he is reckoned as an example to posterity of the deformity of flattery : his last state swallowed up his first, and the excellences of his younger years are obliterated by a flagitious old age.

33. Of the petty kings, Mithridates was the first in motion, and incited Pharasmanes to promote his efforts against Arsaces, by force and stratagem ; instruments of corruption

¹ L. Vitellius was consul in the preceding year. See this book, c. 23, and note. Compare also Suet. in Vitell. s. 2.

were found, who, by large presents of gold, urged his servants to murder him : at the same time the Iberians made an irruption into Armenia with numerous forces, and gained the city Artaxata. When Artabanus heard of this, he despatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian army, to take vengeance on the enemy, and sent emissaries to hire auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on the other hand, united the Albanian forces to his own, procured troops from the Sarmatæ, whose princes engaged themselves on both sides ; according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in opposite quarrels. But the Iberians were masters of the passes, and thence poured the Sarmatæ by the Caspian way into Armenia : whereas those that came to join the Parthians, were easily prevented from proceeding ; the enemy having shut up every approach, except one between the sea and the uttermost mountains of Albania, which was impassable in the summer, for then, by the force of the Etesian winds, the shallows are filled with water ; but in the winter, the south-west wind rolls back the flood, and leaves the shallows upon the coast dry.

34. While Orodes was thus bereft of his allies, Pharasmanes strengthened with succours, challenged him to battle, and, as he declined it, insulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, cut off his foragers, and often hemmed him in, as it were in a siege, with parties of troops ; till at length the Parthians, unable to brook these indignities, beset the prince and demanded battle. Their only forces were horse ; but Pharasmanes was likewise powerful in foot : for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit regions covered with forests, are more inured to hardness and endurance. They say " that they are descended from Thessalians, at the time when Jason having carried away Medea, and had children by her, returned to Colchis, upon the death of Æetes, and took possession of the vacant throne." And many are the traditions which are current about him and the oracle of Phrixus ; in reverence to which none of them will sacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe Phrixus to have been carried thither ; whether the same were a ram, or only the figure head of a ship. However, both armies being drawn up in battle array, Orodes descanted upon " the empire of the East, the renown of the Arsacidæ ; and, on the other hand, the ignoble character of the Iberians, with their hireling soldiery." Pharas-

manes represented to his, that "they had ever kept themselves free from the Parthian yoke; that the higher their aims, the more renown to the victors: but if they fled, the greater reproach and danger." At the same time he bade them view and compare their own terrific array with the mass of Medes tricked out with gold; "Here," pointing to them, he said, "is a band of heroes; there, a heap of booty."

35. But with the Sarmatæ, the voice of their general is not the only means of exhortation; they animate one another: "they must not," they said, "begin the fight by a discharge of arrows, but break in at once upon the foe, and surprise them by a close engagement." And now the battle commenced; every mode of fighting might be seen: the Parthians, accustomed with equal dexterity to pursue or fly, opened their ranks, seeking scope for their arrows: the Sarmatæ, abandoning the bow, which they can use with effect but for a short time, rushed in with their swords and pikes: sometimes, as in an encounter of horse, alternately charging and flying; at other times in condensed array, breast to breast, and arms clashing with arms, they forced back the foe, or yielded to the shock themselves: and now the Albanians and Iberians grappled with the Parthians, dragged them from their horses, and confounded them by a twofold attack; for besides the assaults from the horse, they were still more closely galled by the foot. Meanwhile Pharasmanes and Orodes, animating the brave by their presence, or supporting the wavering, might be seen by all, and therefore soon descried each other. In a moment they gallop to the encounter, with loud shouts and lances poised; but Pharasmanes with the greater impetuosity: he drove his weapon through his opponent's helmet, but could not follow up the blow, his horse hurrying him along; and the bravest of his guards protected the wounded Orodes. A false report that he was slain spreading through the ranks, dispirited the Parthians, and they yielded the victory.

36. Soon after, Artabanus marched with the whole strength of Parthia, to have his revenge; but the Iberians, from their superior knowledge of the country, had the advantage in the encounter. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that Vitellius, drawing together his legions, and spreading a rumour that he was about to invade Mesopotamia, made him

apprehend a Roman war. Armenia was therefore abandoned, and the affairs of Artabanus were ruined; Vitellius inviting the Parthians "to renounce a king cruel in peace, and baneful to them in war from the disasters he experienced." Sinaces therefore, whom I have mentioned as already incensed, consults his father Abdageses and others, who had hitherto disguised their disaffection, and finding them now less reserved from their continued overthrows, induces them to revolt; while those who had continued in allegiance through fear, rather than affection, but now having found leaders, had assumed courage, gradually joined them. None now adhered to Artabanus except some few foreigners, the guards of his person; outlaws and fugitives from their several homes, destitute of all sense of honour, and indifferent to disgrace; hirelings by profession, and the retained instruments of villany and blood. Taking these for his attendants, he hastily fled to remote regions, bordering upon Scythia, in the hope of succours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was connected by affinity: he hoped, too, meanwhile, that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their princes after expulsion, but fickle and restless under their dominion, might undergo a change of sentiment.

37. Artabanus having fled, and the minds of the Parthians being inclined to a new king, Vitellius exhorted Tiridates "to lay hold of the opportunity presented to him;" and, with the flower of the legions and auxiliaries, marched to the banks of the Euphrates. Whilst they sacrificed to the river, the one, after the rites of the Romans, a swine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horse; the neighbouring inhabitants informed them, "that the Euphrates, without an excess of rain, had of itself swollen immensely; that at the same time the white foam upon its surface curled into circles in the form of a diadem; an omen of a prosperous passage." Some interpreted with greater subtlety, "that the commencement of the enterprise would be attended with success, which, however, would not continue; and for this reason, that whereas reliance might be placed on portents exhibited in earth or heaven, rivers were in their nature unstable, and in the same instant that they vouchsafed their omens, withdrew them." A bridge of boats being constructed, the army crossed; and the first who arrived in the camp was Ornos-

pades, with many thousand horse. He was formerly an exile, and had distinguished himself not a little by the aid he rendered Tiberius in putting the finishing stroke to the war in Dalmatia :¹ a service for which he was presented with the freedom of the city. Afterwards having regained the friendship of his king, he rose to high honour; and was made governor of the plains, which being encompassed by the waters of those celebrated rivers Euphrates and Tigris, are called Mesopotamia. Soon after came Sinnaces with more forces; as also Abdageses, the pillar of the party, with the king's treasure and the regalia. Vitellius thought it enough to have countenanced them with a display of the Roman arms, and now admonished Tiridates and the chiefs; him "to remember his grandfather Phraates, and Cæsar his foster-father; signal honours and equal incitements to glory:" upon them he pressed "obedience to their king, and reverence towards us; that they would each of them preserve their reputations unsullied, and their faith inviolate." Then immediately he repassed with his legions into Syria.

38. I have related in immediate succession the transactions of two summers, to afford the mind some repose from the contemplation of domestic calamities. For, Tiberius, though now three years had elapsed since the execution of Sejanus, was not so far appeased by time, supplications, and satiety of blood, means which are wont to soften all other men, but that he still punished even stale and dubious imputations, as the most heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread, Fulcinius Trio,² unable to bear up against a host of informers who rushed upon him, inserted in his will many imputations of the most atrocious conduct against Macro and the emperor's principal freedmen: with regard to the emperor himself, he said that he was reduced to "a state of mental imbecility from old age; and spoke of his continued retirement as a kind of exile." These invectives, which the heirs of Trio desired to suppress, were by Tiberius ordered to be recited; whether to parade his tolerance of a free expression of sentiment, and despising reflections upon his own character; or whether from having been long ignorant of the enormities of Sejanus, he afterwards chose to have them published,

¹ Tiberius ended the Dalmatic war A.U.C. 763.

² Concerning this noted informer, see above, book li. 28.

in whatever language conveyed, and at least through the medium of reproaches, to get the knowledge of that truth which flattery smothers. During the same consulship, Granius Martianus, the senator, charged with treason by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands upon himself; and Tattius Gratianus, who had been prætor, under the same law, was sentenced to capital punishment.

39. Similar was the fate of Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus.¹ For, Trebellienus fell by his own hand; and Paconianus, for verses made in prison against the emperor, was there strangled. When Tiberius was made acquainted with these executions, he was not now separated from Italy by the sea, nor had the messenger far to travel, but he was in the neighbourhood of Rome; so near that he received and answered the letters from the consuls the same day, or only after the interval of a night; gazing, as it were, upon the bloody torrent as it rolled on from house to house; and watching the busy hands of the ministers of death. In the end of the year expired Poppæus Sabinus,² of no very high lineage, but by the friendship of the emperor he had acquired the consulship and triumphal honours. He was also entrusted for four and twenty years with the government of great provinces; not for any preeminent accomplishments, but because he had talents equal to business, and aspired no higher.

40. Quintus Plautius and Sextius Papinius were the following consuls. It was remarked as a matter of horror or surprise, that Lucius Aruseius and * * * underwent this year the pains of death: so familiar were civil miseries. But it was a terrifying spectacle when Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, after his accusers had finished their speeches, taking out the poison he had concealed under his gown, swallowed it in the very senate-house; and as he fell forward in the agonies of death, was by the hurried hands of the lictors dragged to the dungeon, where, though already lifeless, his neck was fretted with a halter. "Not even Tigranes,³ who had once

¹ Trebellienus Rufus was made guardian to the children of Cotys, the Thracian king. (Book ii. 67.) For Paconianus, see this book, c. 3, 4.

² Poppæus Sabinus was consul in the time of Augustus, A.U.C. 762. He commanded in Mœsia, Achaia, and Macedonia, and obtained triumphal honours. Book i. 80.

³ Josephus alludes to this circumstance, Ant. xviii. 5. 4. He says, Tigranes was grandson to Herod.

reigned in Armenia, but was now accused, could, with the title of king, escape the lot of the citizens. But Caius Galba,¹ of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, fell by their own hands: Galba upon receiving a dismal letter from Cæsar, which forbade him to undertake a province; the Blæsi, because the priesthoods which in the prosperity of their family he had assigned them, and in its distress withheld, he now bestowed, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they understood as a signal of death, and obeyed it. Æmilia Lepida too, who, as I have related, was married to the young Drusus, who had pursued her husband with incessant accusations, and during the days of her father Lepidus remained unpunished, though detested, after his death was pounced upon by the accusers for adultery with a slave: nor was there any doubt of her guilt: renouncing, therefore, all defence, she put an end to her own life.

41. About the same time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, aggrieved at being compelled after the Roman manner to make returns and pay tribute, seceded to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the situation defended themselves against the unwarlike forces of the king; till Vitellius, president of Syria, despatched to their relief his lieutenant, Marcus Trebellius, with four thousand legionary soldiers and some chosen auxiliaries. Trebellius begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamped; the lesser named Cadra, the other Davara; those who attempted to sally out he put to the sword; the rest were reduced by drought. Tiridates, with the approbation of the Parthians, took possession of Nicephorium, Anthemusias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence called by Greek names; as likewise of Halus and Artemita, Parthian cities; the inhabitants vying with each other in expressing their joy for the change, as they execrated Artabanus, who was bred amongst the barbarous Scythians, for his cruelty, but in Tiridates hoped to find a humane spirit, from his Roman education.

42. Excessive was the flattery displayed on this occasion by the citizens of Seleucia, a powerful city, surrounded with walls; nor had it lapsed into the barbarous usages of the Parthians, but still retained the institutions of Seleucus, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, chosen for their wealth or wisdom, com-

¹ Caius Galba was brother to Galba, afterwards emperor.

pose as it were a senate ; the populace too have their share of power ; and when all act with unanimity, they despise the Parthians ; but when discord reigns, while each side invites foreign aid against their competitors, the power called in to support a party gets the mastery of all. This had lately been exemplified in the reign of Artabanus, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the nobles, with a view to his own advantage : for the sovereignty of the people verges on liberty, but the domination of a few comes nearer to absolute monarchy. Upon the approach of Tiridates they heaped upon him all the honours paid to ancient kings, with all the additions which the ingenuity of modern time has introduced ; and with the praises of the new prince poured forth invectives against Artabanus, "that only by his mother was he of the blood of the Arsacidæ, in every other respect an alien from their race." Tiridates committed to the people the government of Seleucia ; and soon afterwards, while deliberating about the day for solemnizing his coronation, he received letters from Phraates and Hiero, who were invested with the most influential præfectures, entreating a brief delay : it was agreed to await the arrival of men so high in power, and in the meantime the court proceeded to Ctesiphon, the seat of empire. But as from day to day they delayed coming, the Surena,¹ before a numerous and applauding assembly, bound the royal diadem on the head of Tiridates, according to the custom of the country.

43. And had he at once proceeded into the centre of the kingdom and the further provinces, the hesitation of the wavering would have been overcome, and all would have been unanimous in acknowledging him. But by besieging a fortress, whither Artabanus had conveyed his money and concubines, he afforded opportunity for renouncing the compact. For, Phraates and Hiero, with such others as had not joined in celebrating the day chosen for his coronation, some from fear, others from envy of Abdageses, who then ruled the new king and the court, went after their former king Artabanus. They found him in Hyrcania, all filthy and neglected, and seeking precarious support with his bow. At first he was terrified, and apprehended treachery : when they assured him of their

¹ The office of Surena was in point of dignity next to the prince. The title appears to have been hereditary in a certain family, like the Roman, "Cæsar."

honour, and that they were come to restore him to sovereignty, he took courage, and asked, "whence the sudden change?" Hiero, in answer, inveighed against "Tiridates as a boy, and said that the empire was no longer administered by one of the Arsacidæ; but that the empty title of empire was possessed by one enervated by foreign luxury, while its powers were wielded by Abdageses and his family."

44. From long experience in reigning, he felt that, however false in friendship, their hate was unfeigned: and merely staying to g^o together some Scythian succours, he hastened away that he might anticipate the devices of his enemies, and the defection of his friends: neither changed he as yet his wretched apparel, that he might attract the commiseration of the populace; he left no expedient untried, nor prayers nor wiles, to engage in his interest such as wavered, to confirm such as were inclined to him. He was now approaching the neighbourhood of Seleucia, when Tiridates, hearing with dismay of the proceedings, and of the arrival of Artabanus at the same moment, was perplexed and undetermined in the plan he should pursue; whether to make head against him, or protract the war by a lingering policy. They who preferred a battle and a speedy issue, argued "that the enemy's forces were still in disarray, and their bodies exhausted with the length of their march; while not even their minds could be made up to obedience, betrayers and open enemies as they were so lately of that same prince whom now after expulsion they espoused." But Abdageses advised "a retreat into Mesopotamia, that there defended by the interposition of the river, they might have time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans, with other nations in their rear; and being thus strengthened by confederate troops, and such as the Roman general should send, they might try the fortune of war." This advice prevailed, as the influence of Abdageses was predominant, and Tiridates irresolute in facing dangers. But their departure had all the appearance of flight: for the Arabs beginning the desertion, the rest followed, and retired to their several homes or to the camp of Artabanus; so that at length Tiridates, with a few attendants, returning to Syria, relieved all from the disgrace of defection.

45. The same year the city suffered grievously from a fire, which burnt down the part of the Circus contiguous to Mount

Aventine and the mount itself: a loss which turned to the glory of the prince, as he paid the value of the houses and clusters of *ténements*¹ destroyed. A hundred thousand great sesterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever sparing in his own private building: in truth, his public works never exceeded two, the temple of Augustus and the scene of Pompey's theatre; nor, when he had finished both, did he dedicate either, whether prevented by old age, or despising popularity. For ascertaining the damage of the several sufferers, the four sons-in-law of Tiberius were appointed, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus; assisted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the consuls. To the emperor likewise were decreed honours, devised according to the genius of those who proposed them. Which of these he would accept or reject was a matter of uncertainty, as he died in a short time. For not long after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius commenced their consulship, the last under Tiberius, when the power of Macro was excessive; for, as he had at no time neglected the favour of Caligula, he courted it now more and more earnestly every day; and after the death of Claudia, whom I have mentioned to have been espoused to the young prince,² he constrained Ennia his own wife to inveigle Caligula by pretending she was in love with him, and to secure him by a promise of marriage, while he declined nothing that opened his way to sovereignty; for although naturally impetuous, yet in the bosom of his grandfather he had become an adept in the hollow arts of simulation.

46. The emperor was aware of this, and thence he was puzzled about naming a successor to the empire:³ and first as to which he should select of his grandsons, of whom the son of Drusus was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of

¹ For the proper meaning of *insula*, see Smith's Dict. Ant., art. *House*.

² See this book, c. 20. Suetonius says she died in childbed. (Life of Calig. s. 12.) The intrigue with Ennia is there related in a manner somewhat different.

³ Hereditary succession was not admitted by the Romans. Under colour of preserving ancient forms, the senate was still supposed to be the depository of the public mind, and, in case of a demise, the prince was elective. The legions soon usurped the right of naming a successor. The Cæsarean line, as long as it lasted, was respected by the army. After the death of Nero, the last of the Cæsars, wars fierce and bloody were the consequence.

affection, but as yet a child: the son of Germanicus had arrived at the vigour of youth, and the favour of the people attended him, a motive this with his grandfather to hate him. He had even debates with himself about Claudius, as he was a sedate character and inclined to liberal studies; but his deficiency in mental vigour formed an impediment. In case he sought a successor apart from his own family, he dreaded lest the memory of Augustus, lest the name of the Cæsars should be scorned and degraded. For, it was not so much that he cared to gratify the present generation, as that he was desirous of standing well with posterity. Still wavering, and his strength decaying, he was soon induced to leave to the decision of fortune a question for which he was unequal, though he dropped some expressions from which it might be gathered that he had an insight into futurity: for he upbraided Macro, in no obscure and indirect terms, "with forsaking the setting sun and turning to the rising:" and of Caligula, who in some incidental conversation ridiculed Sylla, he foretold, "that he would have all Sylla's vices, and none of his virtues." At the same time, embracing the younger of his grandsons,¹ not without many tears, while the countenance of Caligula assumed a stern and angry aspect, he said to him, "Thou wilt slay him, and another shall slay thee." But, while his illness became more and more serious, he relinquished nothing of his libidinous excesses, affecting strength of constitution by showing how he could bear illness. He was wont, too, to ridicule the physician's art, and those who, after the age of thirty, needed to be informed by any one else what benefited or injured their constitutions.

47. At Rome, meanwhile, were sown the seeds that were destined to yield a harvest of blood after the decease of Tiberius. Lælius Balbus had charged Acutia, some time the wife of Publius Vitellius,² with high treason; and, as the senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuser, Junius Otho, tribune of the people, interposed his veto: hence their mutual hate, and afterwards the exile

¹ This was the son of Drusus, who had been cut off by Sejanus. (Book iv. 8.) He was afterwards put to death by Caligula. (See Suet. in Calig. a. 23.) Caligula himself died by the assassin's dagger. (Suet. in Calig. a. 58.)

² For Publius Vitellius, see book v. 8.

of Otho. Then Albucilla, infamous for her many amours, who had been married to Satrius Secundus,¹ the man who revealed the conspiracy of Sejanus, was impeached of impiety towards the prince. In the charge were involved, as her accomplices and her adulterers, Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Lucius Arruntius. Of the noble descent of Domitius I have spoken before: Marsus, too, was distinguished by the ancient dignities of his house, and his own fame for learning. The minutes, however, transmitted to the senate, imported, "that in the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the slaves, Macro had presided:" and as there came not any letter from the emperor against the accused, it was suspected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privity, the accusations were in great measure forged, in consequence of the notorious enmity of Macro to Arruntius.

48. Domitius therefore by preparing for his defence, and Marsus by seeming determined to starve himself to death, protracted their lives. Arruntius, to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evasions, answered, "that the same measures were not honourable to all men alike: he had lived long enough; his only regret was, that exposed on all sides to derision and peril, he had submitted to bear thus far an old age loaded with anxieties; long obnoxious to the malice of Sejanus, now of Macro, always of some minion of power; not because he was guilty of any crime, but because he was intolerant of the grossest iniquities. Grant that the few and last days of Tiberius could be got over, yet how could he escape all that he would have to endure under the youth who threatened to succeed him? When the mind of Tiberius, a man of consummate experience, underwent such a convulsion and transformation from the potent influence of imperial power, was it likely that Caligula, who had scarce outgrown his childhood, ignorant of everything, or nursed and principled in the worst, would follow a course more righteous under the guidance of Macro; the same Macro, who, as the more expert villain, having been selected for the task of crushing Sejanus, had brought the commonwealth to a state of wretchedness the most abject, by his numerous atrocities? He had now before him," he said,

¹ Satrius Secundus had been the active agent of Sejanus. See book iv. 34; and this book, c. 8.

“a prospect of slavery still more embittered; and therefore it was that he withdrew at once from the horrors which had been enacted, and those that impended.” While pouring forth these warnings with the intense emotion of a prophet, he opened his veins. That Arruntius was wise in resorting to suicide the following events will testify. Albucilla, after inflicting an ineffectual wound upon herself, was, by order of the senate, dragged to prison. As to the ministers of her lusts, it was decreed, “that Carsidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, should be banished to an island; Pontius Fregellanus expelled the senate; and that upon Lælius Balbus the same penalty be inflicted.” The senators gave the latter judgment with feelings of joy, as he was accounted a man of turbulent eloquence, and zealous in his efforts against the innocent.

49. About the same time, Sextus Papinïus, of a consular family, chose a sudden and frightful end, by throwing himself down from an eminence. The cause was ascribed to his mother, who, after many repulses, had, by fondling and excitement, brought him into a situation from which he could escape by death only. She was therefore accused in the senate; and, though she embraced the knees of the fathers, and pleaded “the natural tenderness of a mother’s grief, and the greater weakness of a woman’s spirit under such a calamity,” with other motives of pity in the same doleful strain, she was banished Rome for ten years, till her younger son was past the slippery period of youth.

50. As for Tiberius, his body was now wasted and his strength exhausted, but his dissimulation failed him not. He exhibited the same inflexibility of mind, the same energy in his looks and discourse; and even sometimes by affected vivacity tried to hide his decaying strength, though too manifest to be concealed. And after much shifting of places, he settled at length at the promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which Lucullus was once lord.¹ There it was discovered that his end was approaching in the following manner:—In his train was a physician, named Charicles, noted in his profession, not indeed to prescribe for the prince in cases of

¹ We are told by Plutarch, that this villa, formerly the property of Caius Marius, was purchased by Lucullus at an immense price. (Plutarch, *Life of Marius*.) Brotiers says, the ruins are still to be seen, near the promontory of Misenum.

indisposition, but that he might have some one to consult if he thought proper. Charicles, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, and taking hold of his hand under pretence of taking leave, felt his pulse. But he did not escape detection, for he instantly ordered the entertainment to be renewed; whether incensed, and thence the more concealing his displeasure, is uncertain; but at table he continued beyond his wont, as if to do honour to his friend on his departure. Charicles, however, assured Macro "that life was ebbing fast, and could not outlast two days. Hence the whole court was in a bustle with consultations, and expresses were despatched to the generals and armies. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, he was believed to have finished his mortal career, having ceased to breathe: and Caligula, in the midst of a great throng of persons, paying their congratulations, was already going forth to make a solemn entrance on the sovereignty, when suddenly a notice came, "that Tiberius had recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some persons to give him food to restore him." The consternation was universal: the concourse about Caligula dispersed in all directions, every man affecting sorrow, or feigning ignorance; he himself stood fixed in silence,—fallen from the highest hopes, he now expected the worst. Macro, undismayed, ordered the old man to be smothered with a quantity of clothes, and the doorway to be cleared. Thus expired Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

51. His father was Nero, and he was on both sides a branch of the Claudian house, though his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian family. From his first infancy, his life was chequered by various vicissitudes and perils: for then as a voluntary exile he followed his proscribed father; and when taken as a stepson into the family of Augustus, he struggled with many rivals, while Marcellus and Agrippa, and after them the Cæsars Caius and Lucius, flourished. His brother Drusus, too, enjoyed a greater degree of favour with the Roman people than himself. But his greatest embarrassment arose out of his marriage with Julia, whether he should connive at the prostitution of his wife, or repudiate her. Afterwards, upon his return from Rhodes, he found the prince's family bereft of heirs, and continued its sole support for twelve years. For near four-and-

twenty years he ruled the Roman state with absolute sway. His manners also varied with the conditions of his fortune: his conduct was exemplary, and his reputation high, while in a private capacity, or holding dignities under Augustus; but while Germanicus and Drusus were alive, his manners were reserved and mysterious, artfully assuming the merit of virtues to which he had no claim. And while his mother lived his character exhibited a compound of good and evil. While he loved or feared Sejanus, though detested for his cruelties, he observed a secrecy and caution in the gratification of his lusts; but at last, when all restraints of shame and fear were removed, and he was left to the uncontrolled bent of his genius, he broke out at once into acts of atrocious villany and revolting depravity.

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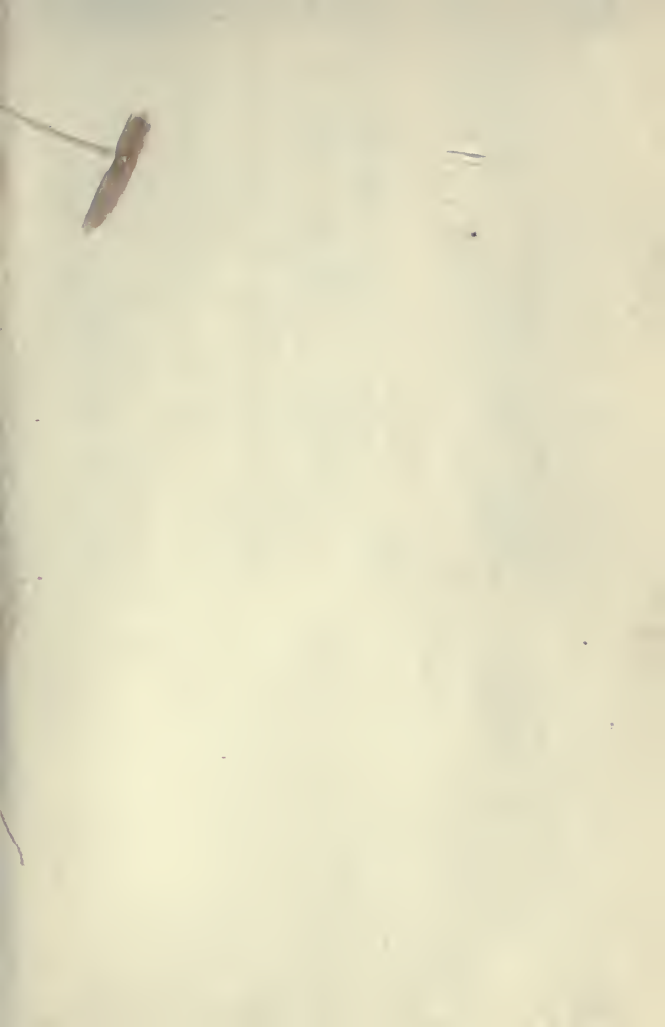
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